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REMARKS ON SOME Late Sermons;

And in particular

On Dr. Sherlock's Sermon at the Temple,
Decemb. 30. 1694.

In a Letter to a Friend.

The second Edition, with Additions.

Together with a Letter to the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled, *A Defence of the Archbishop's Sermon, &c. And several other Sermons, &c.*

L O N D O N ,

Printed in the Year MDCXCV.

To the AUTHOR of the DEFENCE, &c.

S I R,

I Have read over your Pamphlet called *a Defence*, &c. and I give you my most hearty Thanks for it. This, I know, you will look upon as an unsuitable return for those Characters you have so liberally bestowed on me, of *Scribler*, *Libeller*, *Villain*, *Cerberus*, *Lyar*: And not content with these, out of your abundant Charity have cloathed them with very improving and significant Epithets, as *black mouth'd Libeller*, *black mouth'd Cerberus*, *barbarous Lyar*, and abundance more of the same Strain in every Page; whereby you have opened the inside of your Heart, and convinc'd me of your good Inclinations to me-ward, however unworthy, and undeserving. Alas! Sir, that a Gentleman of your Parts should have lost so much Time, as after the spending many Years in Liberal Studies, should at last arrive only to such a Degree of Eloquence, as a Man of an ordinary Capacity would, in one Hours time, be compleatly Master of in the Converse and Education of *Billinggate*: Had you been pleased to have bestowed your good Graces on me, in the Language of a Gentleman, or a Scholar, or in any other besides that of Scavengers and Cart-men, I should have taken it every Jot as well; but every Man in his own way. In the mean time give me leave to tell you, That though you have taken abundance of Pains, and said your utmost in the best manner you could, yet all your Labour is perfectly lost: For the World is given to judge with their own Eyes; and they will not take the Character of the *Remarks*, or of the Author of it, from any Thing that you say, but from the Book it self. And if (to come out of your Debt) I should say you were a *Fine*, *Civil*, *Well-bred Gentleman*, it will not turn to your Advantage; for no Body will believe it, who hath read but four Lines of your Pamphlet. And therefore you may say all the bad Things you can think on, and I may return them in as many good ones; yet neither you nor I shall fare the better, or the worse for it: But it will be the respective Pamphlets which at last must determine, who is the *Scribler*, the *Libeller*, the *Villain*, the *Lyar*, and so forth. When therefore these laudable Qualities are brought to the Touchstone, and tryed by the Subject Matter of the Two Books, the Reader will never ask your leave to assign them to the Right Owner: For

though indeed he is purely beholding to you for these goodly Terms, yet the Application of them is intirely in him; and he will be sure to adjudge them to him that best deserves them.

And this, Sir, is all the Answer you are to expect from me to all those fair spoken Titles you have given me under what Form soever; that is, to half your Book. But I hold my self bound to account to you for some further Favours wherewith you have obliged me, and to lay before you the Grounds why I returned you my hearty Thanks: For though 'tis possible you might not design me any Kindness, and consequently might not expect any Thanks from me, being conscious to your self that you never intended to give me Occasion; but I do not stand upon these Niceties, nor will examin your Intentions, when you have given Mitter for a Man's Gratitude to work upon. And I do assure you, That both you, and your Pamphlet, have very well deserved of me, whether you intended it, or no: And accordingly I am resolved to be Thankful to you, whether you will or no, and that for these Reasons.

1. You have effectually convinc'd me (and the World too, so far as your Pamphlet hath been taken Notice of) of the Hatred and ill Will you bear me, for the honest and plain Truths delivered in my Book, which I very much rejoice at, well knowing that it will tend to my Reputation amongst all honest and sober Men; and (to deal plainly with you) I hope I shall never deserve your good Opinion; and nothing can gratify me more than to be ill spoken of by you, and such as you; the harder your Words are, the greater Honour and Kindnes you do me: And my poor Pamphlet hath now one Character more to recommend it to the World, That Men of your Temper are very wrathful and displeased at it. Your *Villain*, *Cerberus*, and *Lyar*, are Titles of Honour and Esteem, and (when they come from your Mouth) will serve instead of so many studied and elaborate Commendations in *Laudem Authoris*. 'Tis Panegyrick in masquerade, the most real Kindnes a little disguised and rough clad; for all the World will conclude, That the Truths are very clear and evident, when they see you so much provoked, and your Gall and Spleen affected in so high a Degree; as when the Sun shines brightest, the Dungbill stinks most. I pray, Sir, spare me that one Allusion, 'tis all the trouble I am like to give you for your *Animals*, your *Poisons*, your *Bumpers*, *Kennels*, *Kidneys*, and such like Flights of your Wit.

2. You have hereby given me a just Occasion of Reprinting the *Remarks*, which I now do under a new Capacity, as a direct Answer and perfect Confutation of your *Defence*; and, as such, I shall leave it to the Judgment of every impartial and unprejudiced Reader. For if

if any Man, either of Sense or Honesty, can think that you have said any Thing to weaken the Force, or invalidate the Truth of any one Paragraph or Sentence in it, I am contented to join issue with you, and to own, That it is as mean a Scribe as ever came from the Press; for (to speak plain truth) that must be very mean indeed, which such a *Defence* as yours is able to impair or discredit. And I am so little concern'd in any Thing you have said, that had it not been for a much better End, viz. The making the *Remarks* more Publick; you and your *Defence* might have lain long enough, before I could think either worth the taking Notice of.

3. You have taken abundance of Pains, and said all that you are able, to justify one of the main Charges laid down in the *Remarks*; that is, *To blacken all they can whom they think are not in their ungodly Interest, or obstruct it.* This Sir, I thank you, you have abundantly prov'd, and made good, beyond Exception. And let any Man read your Pamphlet, and then doubt of the Truth of this, if he can; it was kindly done of you to confirm my Allegations with fresh Instances of your own, and to accumulate new Proofs from one end of your Book to the other. For your *Satyr* is every jot as Fierce and Furious, only a little more *Dirty*, and seems as if it was bred in a *Pigsty*.

4. I am yet further obliged to you for confirming (according to your Model and Talent) all other Matters and Things in the *Remarks* you have thought good to take Notice of; so that, if you had pleased, you might have called your Pamphlet a *Defence* of the *Remarks*: For I can assure you, it is a much better Defence of the *Remarks*, than of the *Sermons*. This, I suppose, you did not think on, and it may be you do not yet know it; but in this I shall relieve you by an enumeration of Particulars, and then take my leave of you.

I. You tell me, (p. 1.) That I charge *such of the Clergy as think themselves oblig'd to speak honorably of the present Government with inconsistency with their former Principles and Practices*; and then add, *If it could be but as well proved, as it is boldly asserted.* Well, Sir, whether I have proved it or no, I shall leave to the Reader; but I am very certain you have proved it sufficiently: For you immediately tell me, I should have consider'd what hath been writ in defence of the Clergy from that Charge, by Mr. Johnson, and the Author of *Bibliotheca Politica*. This Sir, let me tell you, is a very lucky Choice, and you could not have pickt out two such Authors for my Purpose. For the Principles that both of them proceed upon, are directly contrary to those which the Gentlemen (whom the *Remarks* charges with inconsistency) have asserted, preached, and maintained over and over: Mr. Johnson and the *Letter to the Lord Russel* conflict like Fire and Water, and Dr. Bur-

net's *Dialogues* and the *Bibliotheca* are as consistent as Contradictions, or as that Doctor is consistent with himself; so that you defend them from inconsistency by plainly proving it: For if these Gentlemen justify their present Practices by the Principles of those two Authors, then they do it by deserting and abandoning their own Principles, and that, Sir, (with your good leave) is *Inconsistency* with a Witness, and if you please down-right *Apostacy*. But you tell us, they defend them from inconsistency by proving, That *Passive Obedience*, as cry'd up in the late Times, was never the Doctrin of the Church of England: But by your Favour, that is more than they, or you, or all your Party, are able to prove; but that is not the Question now, and therefore suppose it, what is that to the Purpose? These very Gentlemen believed and taught, That *Passive Obedience* was the Doctrin of that Church, and as such pressed it upon the Consciences of Men under pain of Damnation. And does not your own Mr. Johnson tell one of them, (Dr. Tillotson) That he cram'd *Passive Obedience* down the Throat of a dying Lord? And could you find no Body but Mr. Johnson to defend him from Inconsistency? And I'll warrant you Dr. Sherlock is defended from Inconsistency too, by his old Friend Mr. Johnson. Sir, you have the strangest way of defending Things that ever was heard of: But it seems even this Defence (such as it is) admits of Exceptions; for you add, For such of them as might be burried into that Opinion, by the Current of the Times; meaning St. Asaph, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Burnet, Dr. Patrick, Dr. Sherlock, and all the Ecclesiastical Champions of the Usurpation; (for these are the Men who held this Opinion and charged with Inconsistency, and whom you undertake to defend from it:) These, it seems, are the light and inconsiderate Men, who took up an Opinion of this Weight with haste and precipitation, and without due Regard had to the Nature of it. So that when Dr. Tillotson wrot the *Letter to the Lord Russell*, when Dr. Burnet wrot his *Dialogues*, Dr. Patrick his *Friendly Debate* and *Paraphrases*, Dr. Sherlock his *Cafe of Resistance*, Dr. Stillingfleet his *Jesuits Loyalty*; 'twas all Weakness and Incogitancy, they swam with the Stream, without either Caution or Consideration. Now, Sir, if this is all that can be honestly said for them, 'tis sure no extraordinary Character, and makes their Authority of no Value in the World. For if Men can be hurried into such Opinions, by the Current of the Times, who knows but they may be so still? And the wisest Man living will never be able to distinguish, whether their new Opinions and Practices are the result of their Judgments, or the effects of the Times; and give me leave to tell you, That when Men change their Doctrins, with Seasons and Opportunities, 'tis a shrewd Suspition that the *Times* make the Doctrines;

trines ; and if you will derive their Pedigree, they may say to the *Revolution*, *Thou art our Father*. However such it seems they are, and what is to be said to defend them ? Why as to that, you tell us, *It may be reply'd that no Man is forbid to examin his Principles*. To examine his Principles ? No doubt of it. But pray, Sir, what do you mean by *Examining* ? One would think that when Men preach Sermons, write Books, treat of the Question *ex Prof.fo*, that they either had, or at least ought to have *examined* them. Upon my Word you make rare Men of them, and fit to be trusted with our Consciences. And this is a glorious *Defence* indeed, that from Year to Year, from Sermon to Sermon, from Book to Book, they inculcate these Principles, and fasten them upon the Consciences of Men, as eternal and immutable *Doctrines*, and yet never *examined* them themselves. Sir, this is a lamentable Case, and you are very hard put to it, when you have no other way to defend them, but what at one Dash blasts all their Authority, and discredits every Thing they have said since the Revolution, as well as before : For I crave leave to tell you, That mere *Swearing* will never mend a Man's *Character*. And therefore you call upon them to much purpose, *to lay bold on all Occasions to commend the present Government*; when at the same time you have taken extraordinary Care that their Words shall go for just nothing : For if the World believe you, I am certain they neither will, nor can believe them. But for all that, they must be defended. And you yet add, That *my whole Charge amounts to no more than this, that som^e of the Clergy were formerly Blind, but now they See*. Well ! if my Charge amounts to no more, yours (you see) amounts to a great deal more; and you must answer for it as well as you can. However methinks this is a pretty way to defend them from *Inconsistency* ; for what you call *Blindness and Seeing*, I call *Owning and Renouncing*, and so does all the World besides : But you may call it what you please, your Metaphors mean the same Thing ; and the plain English is, They have forsaken their former Principles, and that is the *Inconsistency* I charge them with, which you frankly own, and abundantly prove ; so that as far as I can see, we are perfectly agreed, and there need no more Words about it.

II. The next Thing is the Distinction of the Clergy, between the *Sycophants and Flatterers, who defy the Usurpation*, and those who comply, yet retain their old Principles, and are far the *Best, the Wiest, the Honestest, and most Numerous*. This, Sir, is a Truth I do not expect you should own; but for all that you cannot forbear implying it by your *Threatning* : For you think I ought to have kept this as an *impotent Secret under sacred Concealment, lest the Government be on their Guard*.

Guarding them, and either put their Loyalty to the Touchstone, by making them abjure, as has been done in Scotland, or take such other Measures as may turn them all out, and make room for honest Men. And why did not you also tell us here, and turn them all out as he did in Scotland? Why because you are a cunning Man, and will not tell your Secrets, lest the Church should have been on her Guard, and look to themselves, that they are not ensnared by one who hath given such evident Indications of his good Will towards them: And since we are upon *Secrets*, I do not much care if I tell you another Secret. "A good number of *Episcopal Divines in Scotland* (who had taken the Oaths) were turned out by the Assembly, and their Churches filled with honest *Presbyterians*, without the least Allowance from their Livings: Whereupon they petitioned your Great and Illustrious for a Maintenance out of the depriv'd Bishop's Revenues, which he had feiz'd upon. Now Sir, out of his abundant Charity, heroick Nature, and great Affections to the Church, he allowed them not one Farthing: And yet notwithstanding he actually gives a Pension of 1200*L.* per An. to *Presbyterian and Independent Ministers* in the Province of Munster in Ireland, and in April last signed Privy Seals for the punctual Payment of it; and for the Proof of this, you may, if you please, consult the *Letters Mandat* in the *Sigets Office*. Sir, I doubt you must reverse your Character, and make the Clergy now stark *Blind*, if they do not see upon what Terms they stand with your renowned Deliverer, and what great and glorious Designs he hath to devour them, so soon as he hath Power and Opportunity. Your Example of Scotland, and the Project of *Abjuration*, and turning all out, hath been upon the Anvil, and he hath as good a Will to the Church Lands as to his Father's Crown: But he never durst put it to the Issue, lest it shoul discover the Weakness of his Interest. For (to give you one *Secret* more) the Eyes of the Nation are opened, they see themselves cheated and abused, and instead of Liberties and Privileges, find themselves made Tools to insatiable Ambition, and a Morsel for execrable *Pacicide*. And it was the most unaccountable Infatuation to have expected otherwise; that he, who had Stomach enough to devour his Father, would ever stick at preying on the Wealth, the Rights, and Vitals of a Nation. I know, Sir, you have a Remedy for all this, and you will tell me, it had been Wisdom to have put this under *sacred Concealment*, lest the Government guard it self against the People, and serve them as the *de Witts* were served in Holland; that is, to knock them on the Head to make room for the Loyal and Honest *Dutch*. And then, Sir, your Deliverance would be compleat.

III. I had honestly told you, That all the Liberty this Nation enjoys under this Revolution, is a Liberty of giving 7 or 8 Millions yearly, &c. and defied all the Flatterers to shew any other Liberty, besides such as they, as the direct and immediate Fruits of the Revolution. I pray, Sir, mark the last Words, for upon them all the matter depends; for there are several Liberties an English man enjoys which are general, and not appropriate to Times and Seasons. As for Instance, an English-man may breath in the English Air, without being beholden to any Government; but to have that Air polluted by execrable Oaths, Perjuries, and Blasphemies, this is peculiar to the Revolution. It is the Privilege of the several Societies of Merchants to trade abroad to the respective Places and Kingdoms; but to have this Trade cramp't by a Dutch Interest, to have their Effects taken, and themselves ruin'd, this is peculiar to the Revolution. It is the Liberty of any Man to refuse bad Money; but to have nothing else but bad Money to refuse, is the direct Effect of the Revolution. Any Man has Liberty to go about his necessary Occasions on Sundays; but to have Licensed Coaches to carry them, is purely owing to the Revolution. It is the Privilege of the City of London to have Coals from Newcastle; but to have them at 5*l.* a Chaldron, and moreover 5*s.* a Chaldron Tax, this is the peculiar Liberty of the Revolution: So that, Sir, if you carefully distinguish this Point, you and I shall soon be agreed. As to instance in some of those Liberties you reckon up as the direct Fruits of the Revolution. We are (say you) now at Liberty to make such Laws as are proper to preserve us from Dangers. Very well, Sir; but you forget to add, That we are in the greatest Danger from the Law-makers themselves; and that we are at Liberty to purchase any Law with our Money, provided we will go to the Price of it.. Again, All Protestants have now a Liberty of Conscience; yea, Sir, and a Liberty too to have no Conscience at all. You add, We are now deliver'd from impos'd Sheriffs, and packt Juries; yes, by all means, and from fiborn'd and perjur'd Witnesses, as in the Cases of Young, Blacket, Lunt, Womble &c. We are now deliver'd from all Restraints of voting for Members of Parliament; yea, Sir, and from all restraint too of voting for Members to no Parliament at all. We are in no fear of having a Court Fashion impos'd on us as the Representatives of the Nation; especially considering that there are not above 350 in the House, who are Officers or Pensioners. We are now secure against keeping up a standing Army in Times of Peace; yes, Sir, and for a very good Reason, because we have not had one Moment of Peace since the Revolution, nor are ever like to have it, to try the Experiment. We are now deliver'd from all Danger of being engag'd in a War with our Protestant allies

'Allies the Dutcb; I marry, Sir, this is a Liberty indeed, and worth all the rest : But I wonder you should be so short, and not add, That we had now a Liberty of giving them 600000 £ at once, and three times as much at several other times ; besides the los of ten times more, by their clipping and embasing our Coin, and supplanting and ruining our Trade.

These, Sir, and a great many more (with which you fill a Page and a half) I am resolv'd never to Dispute with you about ; but only desire you carefully to distinguish what are the proper and peculiar Effects of the Revolution : And I dare promise you, you will confirm every Word I have said, and upon the Foot of the Account you will find nothing but *Iniquity, Fraud, and Beggary*, entail'd upon the Nation ; which you, if you please, may call glorious Liberties and Privileges. But every Man that can but remember for Ten years, and hath Eyes in his Head to compare the present State of the Nation with what it was then, will not need your Instruction to see the Difference, and to point out the Authors of all and every one of these irrecoverable Calamities we now groan under.

IV. I had said, That the Revolution (in the first Steps of it) was as great a Violation of Leagues and solemn Treaties, and the publick Faith of Nations, as ever was known : For that it was not only contrary to that perfect Peace and Amity that was then between K. James, and the States ; but also contrary to their express Declarations to his Ambassador in the very Case. Now, Sir, this you attack most terribly and furiously, (p.9.) as in the first Place you say, *The States made no War upon England, but only lent their Forces to the Prince of Orange*: No, not at all, Sir ; because the Forces were all theirs, all the time under their Pay, and because they received 600000 £ for the Expedition. This makes it a plain Case, that the States had nothing to do in the matter ; and that they, honest Men, kept their Faith all the while inviolably with the King : Even as when the Dutcb deny'd themselves to be Christians in India, and cut the Throats of the English ; why, Sir, they only *lent* themselves to the Infidels, and they were the Murtherers, though it was committed by Dutcb-hands. Well, no Body knows the Advantage of a good Advocate : However you add, *Though they had declared the War in their own Names, 'tis no more than what might be justified* : Yes, most certainly ; because they not only did not declare it, but declared most solemnly and expressly the clean contrary. But no matter for that, you still go on, *Though neither the Prince nor States had any Cause of their own, it would have been not only just but generous, to have lent their*

their helping hand to a neighbouring Protestant Chureb and State. Without all doubt, Sir, it is a great Argument of Dutch Justice and Generosity, to invade a neighbouring Prince in perfect Peace with them ; and at the same time to assure his Ambassador they had no Designs against him. These, Sir, are terrible Demonstrations, and who can say any Thing against them ; but methinks you might have used your Victory a little more moderately. Was it not enough to confound your Adversary by such thundering Arguments, but you must over and above call him *Liar*, and *Villain*, and *Cerberus* besides ? In the mean time, Sir, the Question here (if you have not forgot it) is not about *Causes*, and *Helping Hands*, but concerning *breach of Faith*, and of *solemn Leagues and Treaties* : If therefore your *Protestant Allies* had a mind to help one of themselves to cut the Throat of his Father, why let them do it ; for being *Dutch* no Body expected otherwife from them. But what need they, at the same time, assure the old Gentleman, That they meant him no harm, but all the kindness in the World ? If they had resolved to assist some neighbouring *Rebels*, why they may do as they please, 'tis but acting like themselves : But to do this while they were under the Bond of *Leagues and Treaties*, and present *Promises and Assurances* to the contrary ; This Sir, by your Favour, is a little too much even for our *Protestant Allies*, who notwithstanding may be allowed as much in such Cases, as any People in the World. What tragical Work do you make with the *French King's* destroying Towns after surrender, upon the *Faith of Articles* ? (p. 14.) As to the Truth of which however I desire to be excused ; for I doubt your Authors, *Monsieur Observator* and *Monsieur Gazette*, are not of much Credit. But I pray, Sir, is the *Faith of Articles* more Sacred than the *Faith of Leagues*, or the *Faith of solemn Assurances to Ambassadors* ? Now if violating the *Faith of Articles* renders a Prince (who is not of our side) Ten times worse than *Nebuchadnezzar*, and all the *Savages and Barbarous* in Nature ? Pray what a goodly Figure will your *Stadholder*, with all his *Dutch Protestants* behind him, make when they appear in Stor , breaking through all the Bonds of *Nature, Religion, common Honesty, and the Faith of Nations* ? I doubt, Sir, (let you and I do what we can) the Revolution, with all its Circumstances, will stand upon Record, as the most perfidious and treacherous Piece of Villany that ever was, or perhaps ever will be in the World.

Thus, Sir, it were very easy for me to go through every Paragraph of your Pamphlet ; and to shew in particular how obliging you

you have been to me, in confirming and illustrating the *Truth* of all that I have insisted on. It must be acknowledged, Sir, that you have given the *Remarks* all the Reputation that you are able: And if any Man doubted of any Part or Branch of it before, I do not question but by your Book they have received abundant Satisfaction. But I cannot stay to enumerate all your Obligations: I hope this little will be sufficient for the testifying my Respects to you; and I fear a great deal too much for the Reader's Excuse and Pardon.

REMARKS.

R E M A R K S, &c.

S I R,

YOU tell me that *Dyer's News-Letter* was the first that acquainted you with the *Reverend Dean's Sermon*; That the Character he gives it, and the *Fine Strokes* he says were in it, tempted you to buy it, and read it: That now having read it, you very much *admire* it, and desire my Opinion concerning it, which I shall frankly give you.

In the first Place, I do perfectly Concur with you, and *admire* it too; though at the same time, it may be, I may as perfectly Disagree with you upon the Grounds and Reasons for which I *admire* it. For this same *Admiration* hath several different, nay contrary Objects: Any Thing that is Extraordinary either for its *Excellency*, or its *Meanness*; any *fine Strokes* of Truth, or Untruth; any Thing that is highly Agreeable, or highly Unsuitable to the Character of the Persons speaking, or spoken of, may equally move this Passion. There was a Time when sober and serious Men used to *admire* to see Divines say and unsay, and contradict themselves, as fast as they write; but that *Wonder* is of late much abated by its sequency. And therefore 'tis possible you may *admire* the *Dean's Performance* in one Sense, and I in another; though we both may *admire* it. However, what seems to me to be of that Strain you shall have presently, and then (if you please) you may compare it with your own Judgment; and if I have not the Luck to jump exactly with you in all Things, I think, notwithstanding that, I shall deliver the Sense of above three Parts of the Kingdom.

But before I enter upon the immediate Subject, The *Dean's single Sermon*; it may not be amiss a little to reflect on the Stile of modern Sermons, which will be no Digression, but a proper Preface and Introduction to what follows. Now Sermons, Sir, you know are, or ought to be, very serious Things; and when Men are supposed

to speak the Mind of God to the People, and to direct their Consciences, they ought to confine themselves to the Rules of strict and sober Truth. Lavish and extravagant Expressions, and the Liberty of Poets and Orators, very ill become the Character of those who Serve at the Altar: And (however some may Pride themselves in it) it equally dishonours God, and shames their Profession. But this Practice is never worse, and more fulsom, than when the Subject of it is *frail and fallible Man*: And when they find, or make Occasion to discourse of *Men* in their Sermons, one would think the Subject Matter should teach them Moderation and Temperance, Decorum and Decency. For *Man* is a *weak, wilful, peevish, and proud Creature*; and when they see those Qualities Deify'd by *vile and paltry Encomiums*, every *Man* who hath Eyes in his Head sees through it, and laughs at it. *Men* are known well enough, and their Vices notorious; and it is not all the Harangues of a pert Flatterer that can make *Men* believe one Word of it, no more than he believes it himself. A little Discretion, without any other Vertue, would be apt to teach *Men* Caution on this Account: For the World is mutable, and the many Changes which we have seen with our Eyes make it not impossible but there may be one more; and it would be a terrible piece of Mortification, that these *Men* must be forced to Cry down what they now hastily Cry up; to translate their *Heroes* and *Phœnix's*, into *Tigers* and *Birds of Prey*. But *Men* of limber and pliable Consciences can easily do this; and the same Topicks, and Common Places (where there is no Honour nor Conscience to suit them to their proper Subjects) will fit all Cases, and Panegyrics, and Eulogies, and Satyrs, and Invectives, will agree to the same Subjects and Persons, if there be *Providence* in the Case, and as Dr. *Sherlock* wisely ob-

(a) Pref. to the Case serves, (a) No *Man* is forbid to grow wiser. I know, of Allegiance. Sir, you have heard of a certain Person that was to have a Statue made; the Statuary said, That he had the Statue of *Cromwell*, and it was but putting a new Head to it, and it would do very well: And just so are these *Men*'s Encomiums; the glorious Epithets of *Illustrious, Deliverer, Saviour*, if the Tide turns may be Cap'd with *Barbarous, Unnatural, Destroyer*. Alas! Sir, it is the same *Man* still, the Difference only lies in a few Words, which mean nothing, nor never were intended to mean any thing. And I will venture all the Skill I have in Men, That there is not one of these *Men* who are now so flush with their *Oratory*, but, if the Scene alters, will charge their Note too, and load

Load their new Saint with all the hard Names they can think of: For Words, you know, are voluble Things; and if a Man hath a Stock of them (if there be not a steady Principle to guide them) they will fly out upon all Occasions, and serve all Purposes. And so, Sir, if you please, you may transfer the Allusion of the Statue hither also; he will be the same Man still, only his Mouth will be a little alter'd. He was an Artist that made a Picture which upon a small turn was both an *Angel* and a *Devil*; but he was not the only Artist: For you shall see the same Thing done over again by the *Grave*, the *Judicious*, the *Wise*, (as they call one another.) Turn the Picture to one Side, to the Side of the *Sun*, with Prosperity and Greatness on the back of it, and 'tis an *Angel*, a *Hero*, a *Hercules*, and all the fine Things a Man can think on; but turn it the other way, and then 'tis a *Devil*, a *Nero*, a *Monster*: And to make it yet more piquant, put *Dutch* to all these, 'tis a *Dutch Devil*, a *Dutch Nero*, a *Dutch Monster*; and if there be any thing worse, 'tis even that too. And as *Swearing*, *Allegiance*, the Name *King*, mean one Thing in a State of Usurpation, and the clean contrary under a Lawful Government; so, I suppose, for the same prudent Reason, does *Glorious*, *Happy*, *Valiant*, *Deliverance*. These, and such like, you are not to understand in their proper Signification, but in the Drefs and Language of the Times: They are only Expressions *de Facto*, and if you think they mean any more by them you are much deceived; For why, I wonder, shold not they Speak as they *Swear*, and their *Words* as well as their *Oaths* have a temporary Meaning? However, Sir, you know that antiently *Heroes* and *Demons* were Synonymous, and Terms convertible: And why may not these Gentlemen call them by which they please, as they find occasion, and according to the Season?

In the mean time let us, if you please, a little consider the fine Knack these Gentlemen have got at Representation and Character; which you will find so luscious and termagant, as would shame even the Modesty of the Stage. But here I must caution you not to extend what is said to all, nor to apply it to any Persons to whom it does not belong: For I must tell you there is a Distinction to be made (and all wise Men distinguish them) between the old Church of *England Men*, who have taken the Oaths, and Comply, and think they can acquit themselves by the Constraint and Force that is put upon them; but still retain their old Principles relating to the Monarchy and the Church, who are far the Best, the Wildest, the Honestest, and the most Numerous of the Compilers.

Compliers. These, though they satisfy themselves in a compellive Submission, yet are too generous and honest to Deify their Chains, and Glory in their Bondage. A Man who hath got a heavy Load on his Back must bear it as well as he can; but that is no Reason to celebrate the Burthen, and extol it to the Skies, and give immortal Honour to that which cripples him. These therefore you must pretermitt, and they are particularly and expressly Excepted as no way Concerned in what follows. But then for your St A---phr, your Til---ns, Ten---ns, B---ts; your Sh---ks, Pat---cks, W---ks, Fl---ds: These are the fine Sparks that do all the Feats we are speaking of; who first themselves swallow the Morsels of *Usurpation*, and then dress it up with all the gaudy and ridiculous Florishes that an Apostate Eloquence can put upon it. I shall not ransack all their Sermons; if you have a mind to such Stuff you may find them all on the Stalls, or among the Hawkers.

But to give you a Taste, there are Two ways which they all take in order to accomplish their End: The one is, to blacken all they can whom they think are not in their ungodly Interest, or obstruct it; the other is, to magnify and advance that Interest as much on the other hand; but both very shameless, and you shall have a Touch of both.

I. Their goodly Method of *Disparaging* and *Reproaching*. And this perhaps you may think foreign to the present Matter, which concerns their *Praising* and *Commending* Faculty: But however, this (though it seems the contrary Extream) is in Truth not so wide of the Mark; but like Lines drawn from the contrary Sides of a Circle, centers in the very same Point. For besides that, these were designed for *Shadows*, to set off the Picture they are shewing. There are some Men in the World who have not one fair Quality to be commended, and a Man cannot honestly say one good Word of them; and yet it is necessary for our purpose that they should be commended, and that very highly too. And what is to be done in such a Case? Why, when you cannot do it directly, you must go obliquely to your Matter; and that must be done by *Comparison*, which hath no positive Excellency of it self to admit of it. As for Instance, If I was to commend a *Hawk*, and in particular for its Mildness, Mercifulnes, Compassion; That it is a Sweet-natur'd Bird, and a great Benefactor. Now to say this directly, and without any more ado, would look a little Scurvily, and Men would not easily swallow such a Character of a Bird of Prey: But then you must go to work artificially, and tell them, There is a terrible and rapacious

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rapacious Eagle, that hath Talons as long as one's Arm, and will swoop up a whole Flock at once; and then your Hawk may look like a pretty and lovely Fowl, and the Liberty and Property of the Birds are in a hopeful Condition, though he eats Three or Four of them at a Breakfast, and pulls all the Feathers from the Backs of the rest. Now, Sir, according to this Method, if you have a Mind to see the Character of a Great Prince, thus it is in plain English: (a) Great Oppressor, Anti-christian Tyranny and Powers; and one who invades and usurps upon the Liberties of Europe. This is in short, but if you will have it enlarg'd take it as follows; (b) The Pride of all his Glory hath been stain'd by Tyranny and Oppression, by Injustice and Cruelty, by enlarging his Dominions without Right, (I pray mark that) and by making War upon his Neighbours without Reason, or even Colour or Provocation. And this in a more barbarous Manner than the most barbarous Nations ever did, carrying Fire and Desolation wherefover he went, and laying waste many and great Cities, without Necessity, and without Pity. This is pretty well; but you may have it again in other Words thus. That (c) Grand Oppressor, — who hath endeavoured to exalt his Nation by robbing but Fraud and Forgery, Perfidiousness and Perjury, by breaking his Faith, and violating Leagues and Solemn Treaties, by Wrong and Robbery; nay, by the utmost degree of Cruelty and Barbarity: This baughty Oppressor, I say, who hath ruin'd many other Countries as well as his own, hath bigbly affronted the Divine Majesty, as well as abus'd all Mankind with whom they had to do. Who have been so Atheistical, as to advance themselves by all manner of Falsehood and Treachery—Injustice and Cruelty, having mock'd at those Virtues, Truth and Honesty, &c. Once more, and then I have don: (d) Who does not descend to treat Embassadors villainously, but their Masters; deals with them all as Vassals, or as Children; does not cut off their Garments to the middle, but divests them of the Whole with mighty Scorn and Insolence; and cuts not off their Beards, but pares them to the Quick. Is not at War with all his Neighbours only, but with Faith and Honour, Truth and Justice, and Religion; who knowz no distinction betwixt Right and Wrong—One in a Word, That hath almost all the ill Qualities of all the Ancient and Renown'd Sons of Violence, without the Shadow of their Virtues, or Pretence to any of their Merits.

(a) Dr. Sherlock before the Queen, June 17. 1691.

(b) Dr. Tillotson before the King and Queen, Oct. 6. 1692.

(c) Dr. Patrick before the King and Queen, Ap. 16. 1690.

(d) Mr. Fleetwood before the L. Mayor, Apr. 11. 1692.

Theſe,

Thefe, Sir, you muft needs confeſſ to be very high and extraordinary Flights, and cannot chufe but operate and subdue our Faculties, and entirely Perswade us: But here, I know you, will ask, *And Perswade us to what?* Why, that we in *England* are infinitely Happy and Eafy; That we know no Want, Poverty, or Calamity; That thofe who have got the Government are the moft Merciful, Just, and Righteous Persons in the World: For thus you muft interpret their Words, or you miſtake the *Preachers*. Now this perhaſ may be very Rhetorical; but Rhetorick is a very dull Thing to perſwade a Man contrary to what he feels. Sure theſe Men think they have got an Ascendant over our Senſes as well as our Conſciences: As if our real Oppreſſions and Miſeries were nothing at all, or were tranſmuted into *Glories, Bounies, and Benefactions*; because, forſooth, there are a People on this ſide the Line who are more oppreſſed and miſerable: Juſt as if you ſhould preach to a Man who hath his Fingers and Toes cut off, That he muſt not Complain, nor does he feel any Pain; because there is a Man on the other ſide of the Water who cuts off Men's *Legs, or Heads*: Or juſt as if I ſhould tell you, That your Neighbour *Luns*, and his Tutor *A. S.* are the honeſteſt People in the World; for that there is one *T. O.* who hath ſwore through an Inch Board, and *Evidenc'd*: I know not how many to the Gallows, which the other only deſign'd; and by great Miſfortune were not able to effect. Alas! Sir, real and poſitive Miſchiefs will not diminish into Nothing, nor change their Natures by all the Degrees of Comparison; and Wickedneſſ is Wickedneſſ, let the Comparison be what it will: And therefore ſuppoſe that all that theſe Men ſay were true, moſt of which is notwithstanding falſe, What is that to us? We have Miſeries enough at home, without crossing the Seas, and looking into other Countries. What do they tell us of the Furies and Scorpions of *France*, when we have in *England* too many Snakes and Vipers, that ſuck our Blood, and ſting us to Death? Let the French King be as great an *Uſurper* as theſe Men would have him, then that is the worse for him; but never the better for us, who have *Uſurpaſſion* enough nearer hand to make all our Hearts ake. We know our own Oppreſſions, and feel them ſufficiently: And 'tis a pleaſant Buſineſſ to plaſter us over with an idle Tale out of the Pulpit, of Cannibals and Blood-fuckers in the Worl'd of the Moon.

But ſince theſe Gentlemen are for the Terms of Comparison, if you please, we will follow them in their own way; and I am very much miſtaken if their own Method does not turn upon them, and fly

fly directly in their Faces ; and those amiable Characters they designed for another Prince will, I doubt, much better become one nearer home.

In the first Place, they tell us, *This mighty Prince usurps upon the Liberties of Europe* : But methinks they might let *Usurpation* alone ; it is a very rank Word, and they all smell strongly of it. For what hath this mighty Prince done to merit this Glorious Title ? Why, if you consult Fact, He hath been a little uncivil to the *German* and *Spaniard*, and hath taken some Towns from them : But then if it be *Usurpation* to take a few Towns ; What is it, I pray, to take Three whole Kingdoms ? This, I suppose, may deserve some Supereminent Character : And if these Gentlemen will try their Faculty, they have Epithets enough ready to dignify and distinguish it. The *French King* had no *Father* to usurp upon, and therefore his *Cafe* is not altogether so meritorious : Besides, he hath offered to restore the *Towns* upon honourable Conditions ; which, as yet, I do not hear the *Other* is disposed to do. So that, it seems, this great *Leviathan*, in this Point, hath not an *Equal* indeed ; but it is because there is one in the World *much Greater* ; and as Great as he is, he must be forced to come behind him by many Degrees : And therefore I must needs subscribe to Dr. *Tillotson*, when he tells us, *That a Greater than he is here*. For whatsoever it may be with respect to other Vertues, it is most certain, That he far exceeds him in the Point of *Usurpation*. It must be confessed indeed, That these Gentlemen have given a tolerable Account of *Usurpation*, and have Stigmatized it too in their way ; but then they have mistaken the Subject, by puzzling their Brains to find *him* in foreign Countries, when at the same they had *him* in their Eye ; as if the Vices of Travellers had been transplanted to the Pulpit, to talk of every Trifle abroad, and neglect Things greater and more remarkable at our own Doors. Our own Country is fruitful enough ; and surely in these days we need not go to *France* to look for an *Usurper*.

But perhaps it is not *Usurpation* in general that these Men are offended with ; and it is plain they love it as their Eyes, and have strain'd their Wits, their Pens, and their Consciences, to procure and support it : But *Usurpation* limited to a particular *Cafe*, as they call it, *Usurping upon the Liberties of Europe*. And this the same Reverend Doctor calls, *The Liberties of Mankind*, and all the rest have it over and over : So that it seems let the People have *Liberties* enough , and then the *Usurping upon Fathers and Thrones* is a very innocent, nay a very just and honourable

nourable Undertaking. By this Doctrine, if the French King had borrowed half the Provinces of Germany from the Empire, and Catalonia and Flanders from the King of Spain, and at the same time had preserved the Peoples legal Liberties, or given them greater ; he might have been reconciled to these Gentlemen's good Grace, and have been called a Saviour, and Deliverer too. Whereas I always thought, That so far as one Prince seized and detaine'd the Rights of another, he was so far an Usurper, and so far guilty of Injustice ; and whosoever join'd with him in the Acquiring, or supported him in the Possession, was involv'd in the Guilt, what use soever he made of his Power : But it seems if the People can make advantage of Usurpation, and share in the Spoil, 'tis very Holy and Glorious ; and there is no Guilt sticks to a fat Morsel, if these Gentlemen may but have their Parts of it. So that 'tis plain, by all their Harangues of Liberty, They mean their Liberty of being Bishops and Deans, the Liberty of fanning and warming themselves under the Shadow of Usurpation : But if this be the Glorious Liberty they talk of, 'tis confin'd to themselves ; the collective Body of the People are perfect Strangers to it. All the Liberty this Nation enjoys under this blessed Revolution, is a Liberty of giving Seven or Eight millions Year after Year, and a Liberty of losing as much more ; a Liberty of being first made Poor, and then Famish'd and Starved ; a Liberty of having our Brethren and Country-men sent into foreign Countries to be knockt on the Head ; a Liberty of being Scorn'd by all Mankind, as the most Treacherous and Perfidious Nation in the World ; and last of all, a Liberty of being Impoverish'd beyond Repair, and of being Ruin'd for ever. These, and such as these, are now our Glorious Liberties ; and I defy the Perfect of them all to shew me any other Liberty besides, as the direct and immediate Fruits of the Revolution, which every one of these certainly is, and which no Man can have the Face to deny.

Another goodly Character they bestow on the Grand Oppressor (as they call him) is (as Dr. Patrick hath it) That he advancedth himself by breaketh his Faith, and violating Leagues and Soleann Treaties. Now this is certainly sufficiently Evil in whomsoever it is : All the Doctor's Expressions of Perfidious, Fraud, Forgery, Robbery, and I know not how many more, do not sufficiently intimate the Vileness of it, only he hath a little mistaken his Min, as he is very apt to do ; but if he had pleas'd he might have found a much fitter Subject. For 'tis plain, That this saps the very Foundation of the Revolution, and in the first Conduct and Management of it.

There

There never was in the World, and no History can parallel, such a perfidious and notorious Violation of *Faith, Leagues, and Solemn Treaties*. For I pray, good Sir, was not King *James* at that time in perfect Peace and Amity with the *States of the United Provinces*? And this in pursuance of former *Leagues* and fresh *Ratifications*: So that if the Doctor please, he may take his *Perfidious* and *Fraud* again, and lay them on the right Horse. But this is not all: The King had then an Embassador residing among them, and when he heard of their vast Preparations, he remonstrated to them his Suspicion by his Embassador; and to give him Satisfaction, they gave him *Solemn Assurance* that they were not design'd against *England*. So that here we have both *Solemn Leagues*, and *Solemn Assurances*; and yet immediately after, and at the first Opportunity, (I suppose to shew how they could keep these Sacred Bonds) they sent over an Army to hunt him from his Throne and Kingdom. If therefore you are for the *Violation of Leagues and Treaties*, this is a Master-piece; here you have it in the fowlest and most aggravating Circumstances, and all the Records of Villany cannot shew us such another. The *Revolution* is the Issue and Off-spring of it: It was begot upon *breach of Faith*; and in good Truth it fully resembles its *Parent*; and hath all the Features and Lineaments of the basest Perfidiousness and Treachery the World ever saw. The *Father* of it was *breach of Leagues*, and of the publick Faith of Nations; and the *Mother* was *Rebellion and Perjury*; and from these is sprung a blessed Reformation compounded of all Four.

Another Character we have, and that is, That *he makes War upon his Neighbours without Reason or Colour of Provocation*. Now 'tis certain that the *Reasons* ought to be very *Just*, and the *Provocations* very *Great*, before a War can be justified which will cost so many Lives on both Sides: But for all that, I do not think every Pragmatical Theologue is qualified to judge of *Reasons* and *Provocations*, how wise soever he may think himself. These often lie as deep as *Mysteries of State*, and the *Councils of Princes*, which are quite out of their Sphere; and they are no more able to understand them, than they can fathom the *Councils* and *Intrigues* of all the *Princes of Europe*. So that whether the *French King* hath, or hath not, any *Reasons* or *Provocations*, they are very flippant with their Tongues, but they know nothing of the Matter: And 'tis equal Weakness and Confidence to pronounce peremptorily of what they neither do, nor can understand. However, if he wanted *Reasons* and *Provocations*, these Gentlemen have taken extraordinary Care

to supply that Defect by loading him with all the foul and nasty Language they can think on ; and discharging on his Person all the rank Venom that is in their Breasts. And since we are upon *Provocations*, methinks these Men should give us a *Reason* why they have been *provoked* to such unchristian, unmannerly, and scandalous Expressions of a Great Prince, which a modest Man would never be provoked to say of a Porter, or the meanest Varlet on the Face of the Earth. Which plainly shews from whence they had their Divinity ; and what fine Doctrin we are to expect from Sermons stuff'd with the boldest Reproaches of *Crown'd Heads* that were ever heard among Christian People. For, as I take it, that Precept *not to speak evil of Dignities*, is not limited to a Country, or particular Sovereignty, to those only who have immediate and direct Authority over us ; but extends to all lawful Sovereigns and Governors. And though we owe no Allegiance to a Foreign Prince, yet certainly we owe him Decency, Respect and Modest, let him be Friend or Enemy. The Station and Character he holds, and the Image he bears, and the Authority he is invested with (which Dr. Sberlock tells us is always God's Authority) are Things too Sacred to be Lampoon'd and Burlesqu'd ; to be treated with Infamy and Scorn by every petulant Tongue. But let these *moderate* Gentlemen use their Tongues as they please, and Rail as long as they will (and perhaps they may think they have a *Latitude* in that too) they have a very good Will at it, but are very unfortunate withal ; for it always comes home to them, and turns directly upon them, as in the present Instance ; Whether the *French* King hath some *Reasons* and *Provocations*, with respect to the rest of his Neighbours, or none at all ? 'Tis as plain as the Sun, That he hath both *Reasons* and *Provocations* too, with respect of us : For if these Gentlemen will look again, they will find that he did not first make War upon us, but we made War upon him ; and that, I suppose, will go for a *Reason* and *Provocation*. And 'tis extremely Ridiculous to talk of no *Reasons*, or *Colour of Provocation*, for entering into a War, when we began it our selves : And if *Reasons* and *Provocations* must be af-sign'd, they ought to come from the *first Aggressors*. And it will certainly near concern the Consciences of *some*, to have some good Reasons ready for the entering into so expensive and dangerous a War ; or else all the Blood that hath been unnecessarily spilt will lie at their Doors, and they will have a large Account to make for Ravaging and Depopulating three Rich and Flourishing Kingdoms, merely to satisfy their insatiable Pride and Ambition. I know

know well enough that the *Protestant Religion* is talkt o'er, But that is mere Pretence, Sham, and Nonsense ; a Stale to delude the People, and to cover someting else : For besides that the greatest part of the Confederates are rank Papists (and 'tis the utmost Folly to think they would enter into a Confederacy for the Security of the *Protestant Religion.*) The two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* are as good Protestants (and a little better than those who so much pretend it;) yet had Wit enough to keep themselves out of the Fire : And I defy the Wit of Man to assign any more than one Reason, and one Provocation, of this terrible War on our side, and neither of them *Just, Honourable, or Necessary.* The Reason plainly is the skeening our Neighbours the *Dutch* ; and our Men and Money must be sent thither for no other Reason, but to save their Pockets, and their Skins ; and, I doubt, this will never pass for an honourable Reason among *Englishmen* : That 'tis worth such prodigious Quantities of *English* Treasure and Blood to fight their Battles, and secure their Frontiers ; or that *Loo* is such a delicate Palace, that Three Kingdoms must be Beggar'd and Exhausted to the very Bones, merely to preserve a Prince's *Hunting, and his Liberty to eat Bread and Cheese with a Farmer's Daughter.* Thus much for the Reason of this consuming War ; and I will leave any *Englishman*, who hath not lost his Reason as well as his Conscience, to judge of it. The next is the Provocation ; and this, I know, will a little puzzle you to find it out : But I can easily satisfy you, It was that King's entertaining King *James*. This, it seems, was so terribly Provoking, and Exasperating, that our *Heroe* could not bear it ; but he must be perswaid with Desolation and Vengeance, and nothing can expiate but his Crown : For you may remember, that at the beginning of the War, nothing less would satisfy us, but setting up our Standard at *Paris*, and humbling the *Monsieur*. As if because they had driven him from his Kingdoms, he must, for that Reason, be made a Vagabond in the Earth ; and those who had Abdicated him from his Throne, wou'd (if they might have had their Will) have Abdicated him from all the World too : And because they had hunted him from his own Home, he must have no retiring Place, nor where to lay his Head ; which is neither more nor less, than that we did not think it convenient to Kill him ourselves, but should be glad with all our Hearts to have him Starved Abroad. For 'tis an infallible Maxim, That he who *Usurps* another Prince's Throne, can never be at rest so long as the *Right Owner* is Living. And now, Sir, you have this godly Provocation, which

plainly founded in the Injuries we our selves have done ; and the whole Nation must be sacrificed to Revenge that generous Pity and Compassion which hath been shewn to an *Oppressed Prince*, and whom we have infinitely wronged. Whatsoever therefore the *Flatterers* talk of Oppression, Fraud, Robbery, &c. 'tis none of *tb:se* that offend us : 'Tis not his Oppression, but his *Piety*, is the Ground of this immortal Hatred ; and 'tis manifest to all, That the Noble, Princely, and Christian Succour he hath afforded our injur'd King, is more provoking than all the *Oppressions* in the World.

To this may be added what immediately follows in the same Sermon. *And this (making War) in a more barbarous Manner than the most barbarous Nations ever did, carrying Fire and Desolation, and laying waste many and great Cities, without Necessity, and without Pity.* These indeed are the terrible Effects of War, but then they are as common as they are terrible : For whatever our Author may talk of a more barbarous Manner than the barbarous Nations ever did ; there never was any War in the World where there was not more or less of this. And there is nothing more common than for angry Victors to raze Towns, and plunder the Inhabitants. And had our Author understood any History, or knew how to speak Truth, he might have read, That nothing was more Cruel than the Wars of barbarous Nations ; and without going any further, he might have found in his *Bible*, had he thought it for his Purpose, That Nebuchadnezar not only burnt *Jerusalem*, but carried away the whole Nation of the *Jews* Captive : And it was usual in those days for Conquerors to drive a whole Country, and replant it with their own Native Subjects ; and the Conquest of *Samaria* is another dreadful Instance of it. Which (as I take it) is a far greater Waste and Desolation than firing a few Towns, and destroying a Crop of Corn, or some Vineyards. But perhaps our Author had not his *Bible* ready, but might think it more suitable to his Character to inform himself from *News-Books*, and *Wetwood's Observator* ; although another Man in a less Post than an *Archbishoprick* might have thought that Book as fit to be consulted with in the making *Sermons*, as the *London Gazette*, or the *Haerlem Courant*. However this plainly shews these Gentlemen's admirable Faculty at Comparison : They cannot forbear it, although at the same time they speak not one Word of Truth. But Comparisons (whether true or false) make a great Noise, and are *Fine Strokes*, (as Dyer says ;) and Divines have something else to do, nor does it become the Place to deliver plain *Truth* in their *Court Sermons*. In the mean time

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time 'twould be well if all Wars could be managed without *Waste* and *Desolation*, but that never was, nor ever will be; and perhaps it is impossible it should be: And whatever the Cases are that may seem to require it, I do not think that any *Preacher* of them all so fit a Judge of *Necessity* and *Pity*, as the Generals of Armies, who know much better than they what it is that an Enemy can make Advantage of. And, for my own part, I believe their lodges in the Breast of a Great and Valiant General, a Thousand times more *Generosity* and *Pity*, than in a *Smooth-tong'd Divine*, who can preach up *Moderation* when it is a popular Theme; and yet turn out a most Reverend Prelate (much better than himself) from his Legal and Rightful Possession, in a most violent and *barbarous* Manner. But let that be as it will, the *Comparison* turns home upon them: Let the French King have carried as much *Fire* as they please; let him have laid *Waste* as *many and great Cities* as they think good; the *Confederates* have not been behind hand with him in *good Will*, and have executed it too as far as they had Power; and if they have not altogether so fully performed it, it is not owing to their *Pity*, but to the Conduct and Power of their Adversary. If a Man has a great Mind to cut my Throat, and very heartily Attempts it, but through my own Care, Vigilance, or Courage, he is not able to do it; I suppose I am not beholding to his Virtue, but to his Impotency. However, it is not very long since we have given sufficient Instance of our great *Pity* in this kind; and the last *Summer's Expedition* will abundantly exemplify our mighty Virtue in forbearing to burn Towns without *Necessity* or *Pity*, when we attempted upon *La Hogue* and *Brest*: And because we could do nothing there, for very Anger we bombarded *Diep*, and burnt it to the Ground; a defenceless Maritim Town, and which was neither a Harbour for Men of War, nor Garrison for Soldiers, nor held any Magazines for Provisions and Ammunition, and (which is more than all this) was the only Seat left for the *Protestants* in *France*, and where they were very Numerous. And you cannot but remember what care was taken to publish and magnify the Bravery of this great Exploit, of consuming a weak Town, and firing the poor *Protestants* out of their Houses; Whereas had it been never so useful, the Expedition cost us Five times the Value of it; and it is great Matter of Triumph indeed, to boast of the Damage of a Penny we have done to an Enemy, though, by the doing of it, we our selves sustain the Loss of Five Shillings. However, from these Premisses this Conclusion follows; That if the firing of Towns without *Necessity*

fity and without Pity, be more Barbarous than Barbarity it self, we must take this Honour to our selves, for it plainly lies at our own Doors.

But since we are upon *Barbarity*, I will give you such an Instance of it as no Age, History, nor Nation (Barbarous or not Barbarous) can parallel. What do you think of hanging Prisoners taken in War in cold Blood, upon the Pretence and by the Formality of Law? You may try your Reading, and see if the most *Barbarous Nations*, or the most *Barbarous Men*, did ever do the like. And yet I need not tell of Three who were actually *hang'd*, and several are now in *Newgate*, and under Condemnation: I shall not trouble you with the whole Case; all the Nation knows it, and all good Men abhor it. It is sufficient to observe, That not one, nor all together of the various *Hypotheses* these Gentlemen go upon, that will excuse it from down-right *Murder*: Let it be *Abdication*, or *King de Facto*, or *Conquest*, or *Providence*, or whatever their winding Inventions, and changeable Consciences, can think on; it is upon all *Murder*; and the most *Barbarous Murder* under the Sun. For the single Question is no more but this, Whether a Subject following the Fortune of his Prince, and never acknowledging the Authority of any other, I say, Whether such a Person fighting under the Commission of his own Prince, or his Allie, be an *Enemy*, or a *Pirate* and *Traytor*? Let these Men, and all their Party together, try their Skill, and consider but their own *Hypotheses*, and excuse or palliate it if they can: But it does and will remain upon Record, the most hideous Cruelty, and the greatest Violation of the common Rights of Mankind, that ever was heard of. I Scorn so much as to take Notice of that Pamphlet wrought in Justification of it: It discovers so much of the *Fool* and the *Knave*, that it is impossible any Man should be imposed upon, who has not as high a Degree of these Qualities as the Author himself. In the mean time, the true Reason of this makes it Ten times worse; and that is, they were not Comprehended in the *Cartel* between the *French* and *Confederates*. As if in the Case of *Blood*; and the Lives of Men, Princes were not to be determined by the common Rules of Equity; the Laws of War, and of Nations; and the universal Content of Mankind; but by particular *Cartel*. At this Rate, if there was no *Cartel* nor Agreement between Enemies (which is very rare) you might justly and honorably hang up in cold Blood as many Prisoners as you could take, which is *Waife* and *Desolation* with a vengeance. One would think that the Laws of God and Nature, and

and the common Principles of Humanity, might be sufficient to restrain Men, as well as particular Covenants, which are Antecedent and Superior to all such Covenants, and can never be cancell'd by them ; and in truth are more Sacred and Inviolable than all the *Cartels* in the World. The great *Leviathan* himself (as they call him) might have taught them more Temperament and Humanity ; who at several times, and particularly in the last Battel in Piedmont, took Duke Schomberg, and many others of his own Native Subjects, Prisoners ; and yet very honourably Released the Duke, and not one of the rest were Condemned either to the Gibbet or the Gallies. And yet the Case was very different, and all the Advantages were on the Side of these poor Men, excepting only the Qualities of the Judges. But I am perfectly weary of this Tragical Subject, and which no Man can think of without the greatest Horrour.

The last good Quality these Gentlemen take notice of is this ; That he does not treat Embassadors villainously, but their Masters ; does not cut off their Garments to the middle, but divests them of the Whole ; and cuts not off their Beards, but pares them to the Quick. By this, Sir, you are to understand that the French King is a clean Shaver ; that when he takes Princes in hand, he leaves them neither Hair, nor Nails, nor Flesh on their Backs ; nay, 'tis much if he has not a Slice of their very Bones. But the plain English of this frothy and boyish Ribaldry is this, That he divests them of their Dominions, takes away from them all that they have, and sends them into foreign Countries to beg their Bread, and live upon the Charity of well dispos'd People. Now, Sir, I desire you by all means to shut your Eyes, and not to look about you ; for if you do, upon such a Character, you will be terribly tempted to think upon Somebody, or other within the four Seas. For, as I remember, King James sat upon the Throne of his Ancestors, was himself a wealthy Prince, and govern'd Three rich and flourishing Kingdoms : I remember likewise, that this very Prince was divested of his Crown, and of all that he had besides in the World ; and he, his Queen, and Princely Babe, were forced to fly into a Foreign Land for Livelihood, Shelter and Security. Now if Mr. Fleetwood will please to tell us who did all this, there he will certainly find his Man, that does not descend to treat Embassadors villainously, but their Masters ; that divests them of the Whole, and pares them to the Quick. And to compleat his Character he may add, if he please, That pares the People as well as the Prince to the Quick. For these Three unhappy Nations,

Nations were never *par'd so near* as they have been by a *Dutch Punning Knife*, since the beginning of the World.

Thus Sir, I have given you a Taste of these Gentlemens *Invective Faculty*, and you see how fairly they have handled it to the Honour of their Master ; they name another Person indeed, but it is not whom they name, but whom they describe, and the World will apply it. *Satyr* is a very keen Thing indeed, but then it hath two Edges, and cuts both ways ; and when they give such broad *Innuendoes*, People will be tempted to think, that it is merely Theatrical, They personate one Man, and mean another : And I doubt they will be suspected of *deep and dangerous Designs against the Government*, for thus terribly reflecting on the *Valiant Heroe* through the Sides of the *French King*.

And the truth is, Their Sermons are nothing else but so many Scandalous Reflexions upon *him*, on another Account. And they have but little consulted his Honour, or Fame, when they can before his Face, in that gross Manner, traduce and bespatter his Enemy, and with whom he is actually at War : A brave and generous Adversary will fight his Enemy fairly and valiantly, but scorns and abhors these mean and sordid Acts of Reviling and Reproach ; and whatever they talk, they certainly have a very mean Opinion of him, when they think they can divert and gratify him with perpetual Reproaches and Alpersions ; or that he can have Patience to hear every day from the Pulpit such a Peal of dirty Language. Suppose now a conceited *French Fryar*, who had a mind to get Preferment, shold get up at the *Louvre*, and harangue to that King in this Manner.

" There is a Prince in the World who hath endeavour'd to advance himself by Fraud and Forgery, by Perfidiousness and Treachery, and all the worst Arts in the World ; who, at his first setting out, and assuming an high Post of Dignity in his own Country, it was by Two of the most hideous Crimes that Mankind knows. First, by *Perjury*, having himself directly, and in so many Words, *Swore* that he would not take it ; and then by *Murder*, in a most barbarous and cruel Manner, cutting off Two of the best Patriots of his Country for opposing it. One, who with the greatest Ease breaks through all the Bonds of Nature, Humanity and Relation, to gain his Ends : And while he was Courting the *Daughter*, at the same time was Undermining the *Father*, and laying Trains to ruin and deprive him of his *Birth-right*. One, who hath ever been harbouring

" and

" and cherishing Rebels and *Malcontents*, to set a peaceable King
 " dom in a Flame, on purpose that he might come and make a
 " Prey of it for himself. One, who hath so little Sense of Pub-
 " lick Faith, or Solema Treaties, or Tendernes for the Blood of
 " Men, That when he thought he had the Advantage, he actually
 " fought an Army with the *Articles of Peace* in his Pocket. One of
 " that prodigious and greedy Ambition, That he tramples upon
 " all that is Sacred, upon Right, Justice, and the very Neck of his
 " Father, to obtain a Throne. One, whose Gratitude is equal to
 " his Justice, and proves false even to his Makers and Benefactors ;
 " and when he hath done his Busines by their Assistance, he treads
 " them under Foot, and discards them. There was a Time when
 " a *Pair of Jack Boars* had very well deserved of him, whom he
 " now despises and scorns ; and hath raised a couple of Mongrels
 " over his Head. One, in fine, who is so much delighted with Re-
 " proaches, Scandals, and Defamations upon Great Princes, That
 " he bribes and hires a Company of *Foul-mou'bd Theologues* of pro-
 " stute Consciences to recreate him once a Week, with all the
 " nauseous Scum and Filth they are able to rake together ; and
 " then puts his own Stamp upon it, and publishes it to the King-
 " dom by *SPECIAL COMMAND*, which is the same Thing
 " as if he had said it himself : For though the Sermon or Words
 " are not his, the Publication is ; and he becomes a Party to all the
 " opprobrious Expressions, by whose particular and immediate Au-
 " thority they are Printed and made Publick. That is, These Gen-
 " tlemen say all these vile Things to him, and he speaks them to
 " all the Kingdom. Now, Sir, what Resentment do you think
 this Preachment would meet at the hands of the *French King* ? I
 shall now undertake to answer that Question ; but this I can tell
 you, That if he have no more Generosity nor Piincely Vertues
 than other People, the Preacher would certainly be made a *Bishop*,
 or at least a *Dean*.

Thus much for the Character they give of a Great Prince ; but there are other People, of an inferior Rink, that they have an taking Tooth at ; some call them *Jacobites*, and others *Non Jurors*. But here they are as hard put to it as ever Men were ; they would be glad with all their Hearts that the People shold have an ill Opinion of them, but then they do not know how to bring it to pass. They have the same good Will, but there is some difference in the Subject. The *French King* is a great way off, and they think the People will rather believe them, than trouble themselves to take

a long Journey to disprove them : But these Men live among us, and their Principles and Practices are well known, and therefore they cannot be so copious on this Subject : However you shall hear what they do say, and besides some few canting Expressions, as *Some amongst us*, and *Kind Friends to the Liberties of Europe* (as Dr. *Sherlock* hath it) which perhaps may pass for Jibes or Jefts ; but sure they do not expect that the very lowest of the People should take them for Arguments, or Proofs. All the rest is comprehended in what follows.

The First is, *The paucity of their Numbers*. This is the common Topick, and runs through them all ; and yet there is not one of them but knows full well, that this means nothing at all. That *Truth* was never tryed by Polling, and telling of Nosies ; that *Numbers* were never any Evidence of a Good Cause : As if the Doctrines of Religion, and Points of Conscience, were to be measur'd like Armies, by the Strength of their Numbers. At this rate the *Akoran* will vye with the *Gospel*, and *Turcism* will be not only better than *Papery* (as Father T. hath it) but even than *Christianity* it self. This therefore is nothing else but Cheating and Deceiving the People, instead of Informing and Instructing them. And they are hard put to it sure, when to save their own Credit, and to blast others, they are forced so frequently to inculcate such an Argument, which they themselves in their own Consciences, (if they have any) know to be none at all.

The next is, That as they are few, so those few are blind, and cannot see Providence (as Dr. *Tilson* hath it) * *God has of late visibly made bare his Arm in our behalf, though some are still so blind and obstinate that they will not see it.* And here we have

* Sermon before the King and Queen, Oct. 27. 1692.
got another Turkish Argument : Sure these Gentlemen can find no Reasons for their purpose in the *Bible* ; but however if *Mahomet* has any, they will never want. For if *Providence* be an Argument, the *Great Turk* will be better able to plead it from the Foundation of that Religion, than any, or all the *Christians* in the World : For I am very sure *Christianity* never got Footing in any Kingdom by *Dispossessing* or *Rebeling* against the Lawful Governors, let them be of what Religion they would ; but by the contrary Methods of *Patience* and *Suffering*. And therefore we honestly confess, That we cannot see that the *long Sword* is a Christian Argument, nor fit to be made use of by any but Infidels. Our Author himself but eight Lines before says, That *near Success*

is certainly one of the worst Arguments in the World of a Good Cause : So it seems we are so very Blind that we cannot See the worst Argument in the World to be the very best. And if that be our Fault, I doubt we shall never mend it, till we get not only their Spectacles, but their Consciences too. But if Successes be an Argument so very bad, What is it that these Gentlemen would have us to See ? We are not so very Blind but we See the Successes they talk on : We See Usurpation in the place of Right, and we See God's Hand in this too ; in sending Afflictions and Punishments upon a Protestant People for their Rebellion and Apostacy : We See further that they have a very bad Argument to manage ; and they affront the Divine Providence, as well as abuse the People, by perpetually insinuating into the illiterate Multitude such Arguments which themselves acknowledg to be the worst in the World. Our Author indeed tells us, (ib. p. 32.) *That the Cause must first be manifestly Just, before Success can be an Argument of God's Favour to it, and Approbation of it.* Now 'tis certain that every Cause that is manifestly Just hath God's Favour and Approbation ; whether that Cause hath external Success or no, or whether the Persons engaged in it be prospered by Divine Providence ; which makes it as clear as the Light, that the Distinction is to be made not from Providence, and outward Successes, but from the Justice of the Cause : And the Oppressed, notwithstanding all the Harangues these Men make of visible Providences, may be far more Righteous than their Oppressors. And I am very certain that this Min, who thus accuses us of Blindness for not seeing of Providences, hath not said one single Word to convince us, or any rational Man, of the Justice of his Cause, and much less of the manifest Justice of it. And all that he does say, you have in these two Hypothetical Propositions as it immediately follows; — *If the Cause of true Religion, and the necessary Defence of it against all false and idolatrous Worship, be a good Cause, ours is so.* Again, — *If the Vindication of the common Liberties of Mankind against Tyranny and Oppression be a good Cause, ours is so.* This is what our Author offers to make his Cause appear manifestly Just ; and in truth all that he offers on that Head : And yet both his Propositions are notoriously and scandalously False. For you must know, that by the necessary Defence of Religion, he does not mean a Defence by the Words of Truth and Sobriety, by Meekness, Patience and Suffering, which were the Duties of the first Christians ; but a Defence of Swords and Guns ; a Defence by Arms, which is pure and perfect Aggression, and the Doct in of the Devil, and roots up the Foundation of Christianity. For

If Religion may be defended by Arms, it may also be propagated by them ; and for Men to talk of defending their Religion, and securing their Consciences by Arms, is a fit Doctrine only for such Hypocritical Conscience, who can hold their Principles no longer than they are backt with Secular Power. And this is yet Ten times worse when 'tis applied to justify Usurpation, and the Rebellion of Subjects under a Prince of another Religion ; which is plainly the Case our Author drives at : For then he might know, That it is not only a Good Cause, but sufficient Authority ; 'tis not only a Good End, but Lawful Means also, that will warrant the entering into Arms ; all these must concur to justify a War, and yet there is neither of these in this Case. For though true Religion be the best Cause in the World, yet it never was, nor ever will be, a sufficient Cause to take Arms upon ; and God never gave Authority to a Foreigner, especially one who is not a Sovereign Prince, to call another Prince to Account for his Religion, much less to make War on him on that Account ; and God, nor our Laws, ever gave Subjects the Power of the Sword to defend themselves, and much less their Religion, by Arms and downright Rebellion. And therefore the Conclusion is the direct contrary to that of our Author ; That if the Cause, the Authority, the Means, be all and every one of them Unjust, then their Cause is so, and the Case is the very same with respect to the other Proposition : But to make short work of it, The Impiety and Falshood of both these Propositions is plainly and irresistably demonstrated from these following Questions. Was not the Religion of our Saviour, and his Apostles, the true Religion ? And were not their Supreme Governors at that time Idolaters, and the Religion of Heathen Rome, Idolatry ? In like manner was not the whole Nation of Judea, and all the Roman Empire, at that time under great Tyranny and Oppression, (as Tyranny means the Exercise of illegal and arbitrary Power ?) Let these Questions be but fairly and honestly answered, and it will put an end to all rebellious Hypotheses, and in particular directly answer all and every one of the Assertions and Arguments of these Gentlemen. And for the Two first Questions they answer themselves ; and for the Third, let Dr. Bayne answer, who in plain terms (in his Pastoral Letter, pag. 11, 12.) affirms, That the very show of Freedom that was left the Jews was extinct after the Death of Herod ; That Julius Caesar and Augustus became the Usurpers of the Liberties of their Country ; That the Design Tiberius pursued was to overbrow all that was left of their Freedom, and snare the People of such of their Liberties as

yet remained, which was yet more barefac'd and black under Caligula. This is the direct Case of both the Doctor's Propositions, and perhaps in as severe Circumstances as the World ever saw. Here was true Religion in opposition to Idolatry, and under the Power of it: Here was Liberty Opposed to, and under the Oppression of Tyranny. And I hope these Gentlemen will grant that our Saviour, and his Apostles, had as much Care of Religion, as much Zeal against Idolatry, and were as Tender of the Liberties of Mankind, as any of them all. And yet they determine the Case in plain Opposition and Contradiction to these Men: For instead of True Religion fighting against False and Idolatrous Worship; instead of vindicating Liberty against Tyranny, we have the clean contrary; and both Doctrine, Precept, Example, teaching us to obey, submit to, not to resist, Idolatrous and Tyrannical Powers. And 'tis very remarkable, That 'tis in his Epistle to the Romans, that is, to those very People, and in these very Circumstances, that St. Paul does so expressly and particularly enjoyn these Duties. This Gentleman is very pleasant with us, and rallies us for being Blind, and cannot see bare fac'd Providences: And to give him a Cast of his Metaphor, We are indeed so *Blind* that we do not *See* any Reason to prefer the Assertions and Determinations of any *Usurping* and *Apostate* Bishop, before those of our Saviour and his Apostles; but then we are not so *Blind* but we can *See* what all the World both *Sees* and talks on: We *See*, as well as other People, their *Shame*, their *Infamy*, their *Apostacy*, and *intolerable Confidence*, not only to obtrude these scandalous Doctrines upon us, but to contradict in express Terms their own Doctrines and Assertions. For this very Man hath delivered a Doctrine as directly contrary to this as Words can express; and that upon a very solemn and serious Occasion, when he was to direct and settle the Conscience of a Dying Lord. And he had in his Life-time been often and earnestly called upon to reconcile it to his present Opinion, and Practices; but he could never be prevailed upon to undertake it. And this is the Case of them all; they have *Confidence* enough to talk over and repeat their new Doctrines, but will neither answer our Arguments, nor their own. And neither the Clamour of the Jacobites, nor their own Consciences, nor the Satisfaction of the People, nor to clear their own Reputation from so foul a Scandal, could ever yet persuade Dr. Patrick to answer his Paraphrases, Dr. Stillingfleet his Preface to the Jesuits Loyalty, Dr. Burnet his Dialogues, Dr. Sherlock his Case of Resistance, his Sermons, &c. They have indeed advanc'd themselves to Poits of Pre-

ferment by clean contrary Doctrines, which they Preach, and Preach over and over; but the other old Doctrines stand still Uncancelled, and have not been Delivered away by any direct Act and Deed. They own and preach up other Doctrines, but they will neither formally renounce these, nor yet reconcile them to their new Opinions and Practices: And there is good Reason for both; to reconcile them is impossible, and to renounce them inconvenient. For there may a Time come when such Doctrines may be in Fashion again, even as heretofore.

The last Thing that is taken Notice of concerning these Non-Jurors, is their Ingratitude, their horrible Ingratitude: For

* Serm. before the Queen, Sep. 16. thus Dr. Tillotson acquaints his Auditory, * To whom by too many among us, the most unworthy and unthankful Returns have been made—that ever was made to

so great and generous a Benefactor. Now the Doctor does not tell us who he means by this same *too many among us*; but sure he cannot mean those who have given him so many Millions: For one would think they have been sufficiently Thankful, except the Doctor thought they could not express their Gratitude, unless they had given him their Bodies and their Souls too. And therefore most certainly he means the poor *Jacobites* (as they call them:) Well, I perceive that a *Few* of these are *too Many*, (for the *Fewness* of their Number is one Argument;) but it seems they cannot be contented to be a *Few*; but they must also be *most unworthy, unthankful*, in not considering the large and ample Benefactions bestowed upon them; by taking away from the *Clergy* their Preferences and Livelihoods, and from the *Laity* their Places and Employments, and for the additional Favour of paying *double Taxes*: One would think such *Obligations* as these, should make the hardest among them a little more Sensible and Thankful. Archbishop *Sancroft*, I doubt, was one of the ungratefulllest Men in the World for not taking Notice of the great Kindness Dr. *John Tillotson* did him in Usuring his Place, and Turning him out of his House and Home. Was there ever such *ungrateful Men* heard of? That when there is such mighty Care taken to oblige them in this Manner, and to win them; and yet they are so Peevish, Stubborn, and Obstinate, That they will neither *Swear*, nor keep *Fasts*, or *Thanksgivings*, nor make *Addresses* to stand by—with their Lives and Fortunes. Upon the whole therefore, I find these *Jacobites* are a very odd Sort of Folks: For first of all, They are *Few* in Number: Secondly, They are *Blind* and cannot see Providences, nor contradict

tradict themselves, and forsake their Principles, as fast as other People : And last of all, They are wretchedly *Ungrateful*, in being so very Foolish, as not to take the most real Injuries and Oppressions for the highest Obligations and Kindnesses in the World.

And thus I have shewed you their *Satyr* and *Invectives*; the next Branch of their Eloquence is *Panegyrick*, in which indeed they are not so Large and Copious, but full out as *Falsom*, and *void of Truth*. I shall give you but an Instance or two, but by them you may judg of all the rest.

Now, Sir, if you purpose to lay down a Foundation for future Greatnes, you must be Wise, and begin betimes, and never stick at Flattering the Person you intend to rise by, whatever his Merits or Performances are ; for this shews your Inclination, as well as Ability, to serve a Cause. Thus, for Instance, you must tell the People at a *Thanksgiving Sermon*, That

** This is the most illustrious House of Nassau and * Dr. Tillotson at Orange, which God hath so highly honoured above Lincolns Inn, Jan. all the Families of the Earth, to give a Check to the 3d. 1688.*

*Two aspiring Monarchs of the West, and bold At-
temptors upon the Liberties of Europe : To the One in the last Age, and
to the Other in the present. As if the Princes of this valiant and victo-
rious Line had been of the Race of Hercules, born to rescue Mankind from
Oppression, and to quell Monsters. How do you like this, Sir ? It is
thick and palpable, and you may even feel it : Such Stuff might do
pretty well in a Recorder's Speech, or from the Mouth of an Archbee^r,
or a Killigrew ; but from a Plump Divine, and out of the Pulpit
too, abominably nauseous, and turns the Stomach. Had he
told that this Family had a Hand in the Revolutions of Europe, and
fought, or run away, as they found Occasion, Somebody or other
might have believed it ; but as he has laid it, 'tis meer Bounce, and
incredible Rhodomantade, and, in truth, he plainly Banters his
Heroe. What harm hath this *illustrious Family* done him, to be re-
proach'd by him at this Rate ? Had he nothing else to abuse them
with, but Hercules's and Monsters, and being *Honoured above all the
Families of the Earth* ? Commend me to the Nonconformist Woman,
as the honestest Preacher of the Two, who being desirous to see a
Great Prince, and being informed which was he, lift up her Hands
with Admiration, and cried out, *Good Lord ! What great Things
God can do by such contemptible Means.* But this, as it is gross Flattery,
so it is so very exact and punctual Flattery, as not to have one
Word of Truth. For this *illustrious House of Nassau*, as *illustrious as**

It is, has never yet been so far honoured to check the King of Spain in the last Age, nor the French King in this. And (as I take it) there is some difference between Quelling Monsters, and Breeding them. It is true, the King of Spain was sufficiently check'd and quell'd in the last Age; but this great Work was a little too illustrious for the Nassau's, or any of their Family. It was the famous Queen Elizabeth, who put a stop to the growth of that Monarch, by the Destruction of the Invincible Armada, and by several famous Expeditions into Spain it self; and in good truth the Nassau's, and the poor distressed States, had been probably swallowed up by that Monarch, had it not been for the powerful Assistance both of Men and Money, which She gave them. And what I wonder made him forget Queen Elizabeth in a Case so glaring and clear, that all the World knows it? Why Queen Elizabeth had a long time been Dead and Buried; and to celebrate the Grave, though it be far the honestest and more generous way, yet it is but a cold Busines, and will never edify. In the mean time, if he had not thought fit to be so just to her Memory, as to make an honourable mention of her, in a Case in which she made such a mighty Figure; he might however have been so just to Truth, as not to have wrong'd her, by ascribing that Honour to another which was peculiarly her own: And especially by ascribing it to such a Person, who was himself forced to take Shelter under her Protection; and whose then, and future Greatness, was in a great Measure, if not altogether, owing to her.

And just such another Piece of Truth is the Second Branch, of quelling the French King in this Age: I suppose by taking of Mons, Namur, Charleroy, and the two Battels of Steenkirk and Landen; these are terrible Instances of his being quell'd and crush'd for ever, and what he must expect when such illustrious Families, and the Race of Hercules, undertakes him. But I must do this Author Right, all these Things have been done since he Preached and Published his Sermon: And therefore you are not to understand this as History, and matter of Fact; but this checking and quelling is Visionary and Prophetick Language, expressing not what was done, but what would be done hereafter. In the mean time this Gentleman is very unlucky at telling of Fortunes, he had better have left this Province to his Friend St. Aph, who possibly might have found Something in the Revelations; but all that I shall observe is, That there is a great difference between Prophecy and Flattery, the one is always true, the other never.

The

The next Thing you may take Notice of, is usher'd in with these Words, * *Behold a Greater than He is here.* And that his Auditory might be sure not to mistake him, he adds eight Lines after, *I say, Behold a Greater than He is here.* Which in the first Place is a very *Scandalous Use* of Scripture Expressions; which shews what Reverence they have, when they can with such assuming and reiterated Boldness apply these very Expressions to magnify a mortal Man, (and him none of the best in the World) which our Saviour himself us'd with respect to his own Person: But *Flattery* hath no Bounds, and there is nothing so Sacred, but must be pres'd to serve it; and 'tis yet worse by many Degrees to translate them to such a Cause, in which there is not one title of Grammatical Truth, even abstracted from the Sacredness of the Expressions themselves. For *Greater* is a Term of Comparison, *And greater than who is here?* Why *Greater* than the *French King*. And are not you now abundantly satisfied that these Men will speak nothing but plain and evident Truth in their Sermons? He may *say it*, and *say it*, as often as he please; but there is not one single Man on the *Earth* who believes it, nor does he believe it himself. And especially as he hath laid the Comparison, for to make his own *Heroe* greater than him, he hath made the *French King* greater than in truth he is: For how Great do you think this Prince is? Thus you have it from the Doctor himself (*ibid. p. 2. 8. & seq.*) *A mighty Prince, who bath in Perfection all the Advantages - who, in the Opinion of some, hath passed for many Years for the most Politick, and Powerful, and Richest Monarch that hath appear'd in these Parts of the World for many Ages; who has Govern'd his Affairs by the deepest and steddiest Councils, and most refin'd Wisdom of this World. A Prince Mighty and Powerful in his Preparations for War, Formidable for his vast and well-disciplin'd Armies, and for his great Naval Force; and who hath brought the Art of War almost to that Perfection as to be able to Conquer, and do his Busines, without Fighting; a Mystery hardly known to former Ages and Generations. And all this Skill and Strength United under One absolute Will - Who commands the Estates of all his Subjects, and of all his Conquests, which hath furnished him with an almost inexhaustible Treasure and Revenue.* Perhaps, Sir, you think your self at *Paris*, and this Gentleman is flattery and abusing the *French King*, as he does his own *Master*. But you are very much Mistaken; for this is for nothing else but to bring in Four or Five Words, *Behold a Greater is here:* That is, more Politick, Powerful and Rich,

* Dr. Tillotson before
the King and Queen,
Octob. 6. 1692.

Rich, than the most Politick, most Powerful, and Richest Monarch in these parts of the World. And so it seems his Councils are deeper than the deepest, stedder than the steddiest, and so forth. Well, this is great indeed, who would have thought it? But there is one Thing a little more Natural, and that is *Conquering without Fighting*. This Art our *Heroe* must learn: For 'tis most certain that he must Conquer that way, or not at all; for he never yet was able to Conquer with Fighting. However, when Men are for Comparisons, they had as good do it to some Purpose. And when his Hand was in, he might have made him greater than all the Superlatives in the World; wiser than the Wisest, better than the Best, more righteous than the Justest, and bumbler than Humility it self: For this might have been as soon said, and as true as the rest. And in truth he offers very fairly; for faith he, *And who hath made it the great study and endeavour of his Life, to imitate these Divine Perfections, as far as the Imperfection of human Nature in this mortal State will admit, and one who never said or did an insolent Thing.* And now is it possible for any Man to expose such nauseous and rank Flattery spoken to a Man's Face, and printed by SPECIAL COMMAND, and which the Sermon and Publication is a direct and full Confutation of? For a Man of clear and steddy Virtue, can never have the Patience to hear himself thus daub'd over, and much less to Authorize and Command the sending his own undue and immoderate Praises round about the Kingdom. I do not know what Notions some Men may have of Modesty, or whether they think it a Christian Virtue: However certainly it very well becomes Divines, and the Pulpit. And when they give themselves up to lash out in this manner, whether they advance other Mens Characters, to be sure they reproach themselves, and become the Scorn and Indignation of every wise and sober Man. A flattering Buffoon is a ridiculous, mean, and contemptible Creature; but a flattering Divine sinks above Ground, and is nothing but Filth, Mire, and Dungbil, tending forth Fumes to choak and pollute the most Sacred Places and Exercises.

I do not deny but there may be made tolerable use of Flattery it self, in such Cases when Men are too big, and too untractable, for plain and down-right Admonition and Reproof; perhaps, in such Cases, it may not be amiss for other Persons besides Divines, and for other Places, besides the Pulpit, to come at them as well as they can, and enter by that Door which is open. For Instance, possibly it might not be altogether unuseful to tell a Great Prince, "That he was

"the

" the Flower of *Majesty*, the Splendor of *the Crown*, and the Fountain
 " of all Princely Vertues : For that in the first place, being himself of
 " the Race of Great Kings, and born to inherit the Throne of Three
 " flourishing Kingdoms, he took no illegal and unnatural Steps to
 " possess himself before the time ; but stay'd till God, and Nature,
 " and the Laws, had, with all the Fairness in the World, put the
 " Crown upon his Head. A Prince of that great Meekness and Hu-
 " mility, that a Throne was no Temptation to him ; nor could he
 " be prevail'd to accept one that was not his Birthright, tho offered
 " him by the greatest Importunity by those who had the most unquestion-
 " able Right to dispose of it. Of that inflexible Justice, that a Flaw, or a
 " Doubt, will make him startle ; and he looks upon those as the
 " worst of Enemies, who would perswade him to any Thing that
 " is not infinitely clear in Point of Right. Of that tender Filial Piety,
 " that being incorporated by Marriage into a Royal Family, he Ho-
 " noured his Wifes Father as his own ; and has done him no more
 " harm, than he would have done to his own dear Natural Parents
 " upon the same Opportunities. One, who hath such a mighty
 " Veneration for Truth, that he scorns to slander a Turk, and much
 " less his own Uncle or Father ; that consequently he hath made
 " good, and punctually proved every Word of his Revolutio[n]al De-
 " clarations, especially relating to the Prince of W. by a thousand
 " Witnesses. A Prince, in fine, of that Zeal for Religion, that he is
 " mindful of all the TEN COMMANDMENTS, but hath an
 " especial Regard to the FIFTH, the NINTH, and the TENTH.
 " What need I speak of his Military Vertues, when by his pure
 " Wisdom and Conduct he hath saved whole Armies, Bag and
 " Baggage and all ; or of his Personal Valour, who always scorn'd
 " to turn his Back upon any Enemies, and especially the Puny and
 " Cowardly French, but hath routed them with his very Looks. Now,
 Sir, although there is not one Word of this strictly and literally
 true, however it may have a Figurative use, and some good Advan-
 tage may be made of a very bad Thing, to flatter Men out of the
 Vices which they have, and into the Vertues which they have not,
 when they cannot otherwise be dealt with. But the Flattery we
 are speaking of, is quite another Thing ; 'tis delivered from the
 Pulpit as Holy Language, and Sacred Oracles ; and instead of bring-
 ing Men to Repentance and Restitution, 'tis designid only to Sanc-
 tify their Vices, to Polish and Guild over the most enormous Ac-
 tions, to Pamper a hard Conscience, and to put a Theological
 Eucus on the deepest Crimes : That is, in the Prophet's Dialect, To
call

all Evil Good, and Good Evil. To harden Men in their Sin, and
tow Pillows under their Elbows.

And so I come to Dr. Sherlock's Sermon at the Temple, Dec. 30. which you must know was designed as a kind of *Funeral Sermon* on the Death of the late great Lady at *Kensington*; and this was not a Province taken up out of meer Choice, or singly allotted to him, but the univerſal Subject of all the Sermons in and about the Town for that Day. From whence you are given to understand, That this was by *order* and direction from their Superiors; and so you may take it, if you please, not for a Religious Commemoration, but a *Politick* one, to ſerve ſome *Politick* End of their *Masters*, and perhaps of their own; and what those Ends are you may easily ſee, and I shall just touch upon as I go along: And truly it looks as if their *Instructions* had been very particular, and the *Heads* upon which they ſhould diſcource assign'd them; for they all tell the ſame Tale, and almoſt in the ſame Words.

However I am now upon the Doctor's *Sermon*, and what I have to remark to you is included in these Particulars. As, 1. The Character he gives the deceased Princes. 2. The Account he gives of Providence, in relation to her Death. 3. An Excursion in Memory of an old Friend of his.

I. The Character, &c. And here I ſhall do what these Gentlemen never knew how to do, if they thought it not for their Purpose, and that is, to ſpeak Modestly of the Dead; and therefore whatever *Personal* Vertues the Doctor, or any other, ascribe unto her, I ſhall by no means meddle with: Let them therefore ſay what they please of her Charity, Affability, Diligence, and Devotion at Prayers, I ſhall never envy at theſe Characters, but heartily wiſh ſhe had all theſe Vertues, and many more; but theſe are purely *Personal*, and concern neither *Them* nor *Us*. But there is an *Action* of hers which very nearly affects *them*, and which it highly concerns them to clear up as a Virtue, or at leaſt to make it Innocent; or elſe all her Vertues, if they were a Thousand fold more, will do them no good: But this they are either perfectly ſilent in, or mention it ſo very lightly and poorly, as if they were afraid to meddle with it; or as if it no way related to her Memory, or concerned themſelves. But theſe Gentlemen celebrate the Vertues of this *Great Lady*, as the Regicides and their Brood defame the Memory of King *Charles the First*; they load him with all the Vices they can think on, to justify their Rebelliſing againſt and Murthering of him: So theſe are full of her *Praises*, that they may vindicate their

their taking an Oath of Allegiance to her : Whereas those Things concern the Case neither of the one, nor the other. The single Question in which *tboſe* are concern'd, is not whether he was a *Vicious King*, but whether he was a *Lawful one*? So here, the Question is not whether she was a *Vertuous Woman*, but whether she was a *Lawful Queen*? And as to this Point there are several Things worthy of our Observation ; as,

1. They are so far from conceiving that the *Assuming the Crown was a Virtue in Her*, that the *Hypotheses* they pretend to Excuse themselves by, proceed upon the clean contrary Supposition. Dr. *Sherlock* talks of nothing but the *wickedness of Usurpation*, the *wickedness* of them that take the Government, and God's over-ruling the *wickedness* of Men. He hath taken abundance of Pains, and said all that he can, (and much more than is true) in his Two vile Books, to Excuse the *Wickedness of Swearing*; but not one sing'e Word to *vindicate* his *Powers* from *Wickedness*, but supposes the direct contrary; and upon that Supposition frames all his Arguments and Reasons. A *King de facto* is another goodly *Hypothesis*; and those who are craz'd with this Notion, spend all their Arguments (such as they are) to prove it *Lawful* to pay Allegiance to such a King; but not one of them says, or thinks, That 'tis *Lawful* to be a *King de facto*: And 'tis impossible they should; for a *King de facto* is opposed (in their Sense) to a *King de jure*; and a *Lawful King de facto*, is a Contradiction in the very Terms. 'Tis as if a Man shou'd say, Legal Illegality, Honest Villany, or Rightful Wrong; one of the Terms is a direct Contradiction to the other. *Abdication*, let that Word mean what it will, (for they are not yet fully agreed about it) can extend to none but the Person *Abdicating*; and therefore in an *Hereditary Monarchy*, the Right descends to the next of the Line; and I suppose, by this time, all the World is satisfied of the Legitimacy of the *Prince of Wales*. So that let their *Hypotheses* be what they will, they all sit very heavy on her; and the Excuses they make for themselves, are but so many broad Accusations of *Her*: For let force excuse as much Submission as Dr. *Sherlock* pleases, it can never excuse it self: Let a *King de facto*-warrant as many *Oaths* as they think fit, it can never warrant the invading and exercising an Authority which of *Right* belongs to another: Let *Abdication* justify the letting aside one Prince, it can never justify the letting aside another, who hath not *Abdicated*. So that turn their *Hypotheses* which way you will, and grant them all they demand, They all load *her*, in this Point, as hard as the war-
mest

most Jacobites, and make this Action highly Faulty by their own Principles. They are very industrious indeed to shake off all Injustice from themselves, but then they do as industriously lay it at her Door : And any Man, who reads the numerous Pamphlets that have been wrote on this Occasion, will find, That they are contented to lay all the Blame on her, and her Husband, that they may shift it from themselves. And therefore Dr. Sherlock hath mistaken his Compliment, which he so frankly bestows upon *some among our selves*, in his last Sermon, (p. 15.) *Her greatest and most implacable Enemies had no other Fault to charge her with, but her Throne;* For it is the very fault that they themselves charge her with, and before they can quit their Hands of it, They must grow Wiser once more, and write new Cases of Allegiance, and give some new Reasons, for all the old Ones do it as plain as Words can do. And if this be a Sign of great and implacable Enmity, they must have the Honour among them ; for let them Pray and Preach, and Swear never so much, I defy all the Jacobites in Europe to charge her with more Faults on that account, than they have done themselves. And in truth, even in their funeral Sermons, where they have endeavoured to speak the best they are able, They mention it so gingerly, that any Man may see they knew not what to say to it, nor how to let it alone ; which is the next Thing I am to observe to you. (Viz.)

2. When they mention her *taking the Crown*, they do it so nicely, and in such a Manner, as plainly shews, That they think it requires an Excuse and Apology, and will not admit of a Justification. Dr. Sherlock says, (p. 13.) *She was always grieved at the Occasion of taking the Government, and as glad to resign it.* And again, (p. 15.) *She ascended the Throne indeed before she desired it ; but was thrust into it, not by an hasty Ambition, but to save a sinking Church and Kingdom.* I shall leave every Man to believe the Truth of this as he pleases ; but this strongly proves that the Doctor thought there was something in the Wind, which wanted his Rhetorick to make the best of it, which yet, with all his Skill, he is not able to clear up ; but hath left a *black Mark*, upon it, and stain'd it with great and evident Signs of Suspicion : For let the *Occasion* be what it will, let there be grief or no grief, Men do not use to be very *glad to resign* any Thing, and much less a *Throne*, which they fairly and honestly come by ; and if she was so joyful to *resign* the Crown, as this Gentleman would make us believe, I doubt, it will prove a Sign that she herself thought she could not very innocently wear it. But to whom, I pray, was she so glad to *resign* it ? Why, to her *Father.*

And

And if this was the Case, Why did not she first Consult him, and try whether there were any fair ways to save the Church and Kingdom, and preserve the Crown upon her Father's Head? This would have sav'd her Father, and the Church and Kingdom too; and moreover would have saved her the Trouble of that terrible grief the Doctor talks on: Or why did not she afterwards, when he had lain some Years in *Exile and Affliction* (which must needs augment her grief, if she had any before, or any Spark of Duty to a tender Parent) endeavour to compose the Differences and Distractions, and reconcile her Father to his Subjects, and his Subjects to him, to gratify her joy, and put an End to her grief? But this joy is a very fruitless and unactive Passion, and serves to talk on in *funeral Sermons*, but is good for nothing at all besides. And I perceive meer grief and aversion, and no desire, operate more strongly than all the Joy in the World: Nay, it seems, those wonderful Passions operate the clean contrary way, (as every Thing else does in *Usurpation*.) For, according to the Doctor, she was grieved, and had no desire to take the Crown, and yet she took it, and kept it: She was glad to resign it, and made not the least step towards it: It seems, these *Scepters* and *Crowns* are nothing but Mortification from one end to the other; the Occasion was grief, the Desire to take it none at all; and to be depriv'd of it the only Comfort left in such Cases; the joy of resigning it is very lamentable. And I wonder these Gentlemen forgot to tell us of her *Five Years* severe Tryal and Affliction, and her incredible Patience under them: For in good truth, as grievous as they were, she bore them handsomely, and the most critical and piercing Eye could see nothing outwardly, but the greatest Gaiety, Pleasure, and Complacency imaginable: But perhaps the grief might be the greater being kept within, and because no body could perceive it.

The next Thing the Doctor tells us, is, That she was *Thrust into it*: This is a Metaphor, and means it was by Compulsion, and against her Will. So that we are still upon the *diminishing Point*; but this is an *Apology with a Reflection* in the Belly of it: For if the matter had been clearly and manifestly Just, what need is there of such *thrusting and force*? Do Men offer violence to their Faculties when they do a very fair and honest Action, or (as some call it) a very great and glorious One? Well, but she was thrust into it to *Save a sinking Church and Kingdom*. And suppose that, That is at the best but a *good End*, and if the *Means* be not as good as the End, the Action is stark rought; and the Doctor knows well enough,

There

There was a Person who thrust out his Hand to *save* the *Ark*, but because he had no Authority, it cost him his Life, and by the immediate Judgment of God himself. Princes perhaps may mistake themselves, and think themselves qualified to *save* Churches and Kingdoms ; but if they so far mistake as to *thrust* themselves through the Bowels of their Parents to do this, I doubt they take a very wrong Course : And all the *Savings* he can think on, will not justify the Violation of the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations. The Doctor therefore ought first to have proved, at least to have said, (whether he could prove it or no) That it is very *lawful* for one Prince to seize the Patrimony and Inheritance of another : That 'tis very *lawful* for Children to turn their Parents out of Doors, and take their Revenues to themselves : That 'tis very *lawful* to stigmatize and brand an *Infant Prince* as supposititious, contrary to their own Knowledge ; and then it was time enough to talk of *Ends* and *Designs*, which no body knows but themselves ; whatever the Pretences may be to bring about those *Ends*. For let them have as many *Ends* as they will, the Laws of God and Nature are too Sacred and Inviolable to be broken for any *Ends*, let them be good or bad, plain or mysterious ; and no Man can honestly do it to *save* himself, and much less to *save* other Folks. And this is fine Doctrine for the *Pulpit* and *Funeral Sermons* : A Man may take another Man's Estate for the Good of the Tenants ; and a Child may trample on the Neck of his Father, and send him a Begging, for the Benefit of the Family. However this shews that the Doctor is in great Perplexity, he would fain say something, but cannot tell what : He hath raised an Objection, and leaves it just as he found it. *Implacable Enemies, bad no other Fault to charge her with but her Throne.* To let *Implacable*, and *Enemies* alone, as being out of the Question, it is certain that *Fault she was charged with*, and by them who pretend to be her *Friends* too ; and what hath the Doctor said to remove it ? Why the Answer is, *She did not desire it, She was thrust into it, and She had a very good End.* And what then ? Will any of these, or all together, change the vicious Nature of moral Actions ? Will a Thing materially Evil become exceeding Good, from any Reluctances, Impulses, or Designs of Men ? This is not to make God's Law, but human Passions and Devices, the Rule and Standard of Virtue and Vice. So that this is a *Fault*, and will be a *Fault* still, for any Thing the Doctor hath said to the contrary : And these implacable People are at Liberty to charge her with what they please in this Point ; for the Doctor hath not one single Word

Word to stop their Mouths. However, it must be owned that this is very seasonable and fashionable Divinity, and will serve all Purposes as well as this. For instance ; suppose any Man (implacable or placable it matters not) should charge it as a Fault on Dr. Sherlock for taking the Oath : The Answer is plain, and at hand, For first, *He did not desire it* ; well, that will be granted : Secondly, He was *tbrush upon it* ; and that I suppose will be granted too : And last of all, He did it out of a good and *saving End* ; for to *save* Preferments, or to advance them, will be allowed to be a good End. And therefore the Conclusion is plain, That 'tis very lawful to take the *Oath*, let the matter of it be what it will. In the mean time as to the *Matter* of this Action of *taking the Throne*, the Doctor hath not one Word to say to it, and leaves the People to judge as they please of it ; which notwithstanding is the only Thing concerning which a Casuist can pronounce and determine : For *Designs* and *Ends* are secret Things, and are most commonly the very worst when the best is pretended. *Cromwel could pray, and preach too, in great abundance* ; and (if you will believe him) *He did not desire the Government*, but was *tbrush upon it to save a sinking Kingdom*, (as he tells them expressly in a Speech to his Parliament.) And here are two very hideous and black Circumstances which *Cromwel* himself wanted, That in those days there was not a *Natural Father* in the Case. Nor Secondly, The most *kind and indulgent Father* in the World. And therefore commend me to Dr. *Wake*, who speaks a little more plainly in his *Funeral Sermon*, (p. 19.) She was so great a *Lover of her Country, and the Interest of it, as to be willing to hazard what next her Conscience she most valued, her good Name, and good Opinion in the World, for the Preservation of them.* So that it seems the Business was not very reputabla by his own Account ; for 'tis ridiculous to talk of *hazarding of a good Name, and good Opinion*, if the Thing it self, in its own Nature, had been of *good Fame and Report* ; and therefore the Doctor plainly gives up the Cause in this Point. The Action it self was neither *honourable nor praise worthy* ; for if it had, the performing of it would have been a means to gain a *good Name and Opinion*, and not to *hazard it*. The Doctor indeed minces the matter, and speaks softly, but the plain English of his Words is, That it is *infamous* : And the Reputation and Virtues of a Prince are so nearly link'd together, that 'tis impossible to part them ; and whatsoever is *infamous* in a Prince, I doubt is vicious too. So that here we have a pretty fair Confession, although it is finely dressed up ; that the People might not perceive it. It would have looked

a little awkwardly; when a Man had been stretching his Wits and Eloquence to say the *best* Things he was able, to dash all with a Couple of blunt and uncourteous Expressions; She loved her Country so dearly, as to be unnatural and ungrateful to her Parents: But the Doctor is a Courtier, and knows Language better than so; and therefore it is to be let down in a genteel and mannerly Dialect, only She *bazarded a good Name and Opinion in the World*. But *Things* are the same, let the Expressions be what they will: Let him call it, if he please, *bazarding a good Name*, and then tell us what he means by that, or in what Instances she run that *bazard*, and he says the very same Thing, and will talk like a malicious and implacable *Jacobite*. In the mean time these Gentlemen have as little consulted their own Reputation as hers; for if the taking the Crown was an Action that *bazarded her good Name*, the praying for, supporting, and abetting her in that Action, must also *bazard their good Names*; for whoever partakes of an *infamous Action*, partakes of the *Infamy* too: And so these Gentlemen have strained their Rhetorick to much purpose, to give such an honourable Character of themselves, as they have done of her. I hope hereafter they will not take it so heinously, if Men think they have *bazarded their good Names and Reputations*; for why should any Body have a better Opinion of them, than they have of themselves?

Since the first Impression of this, Dr. Burnet hath undertaken the Argument, and hath published a Pamphlet, called, *An Essay on the Memory of the late Queen*: This Doctor you know is a Man of mighty Latitude, and can say any Thing to serve a Turn; whose Reverence resolves Cafes of Conscience backwards and forwards, disputes *Pro* and *Con*, praises and dispraises by secular Measures; with whom Virtue and Vice, Passive Obedience and Rebellion, Paricide and Filial Duty, Treachery and Faithfulness, and all the Contradictions in Nature, are the *best* or the *worst* Things under the Sun, as they are for his Purpose, and according as the Wind sits: Who equally and indifferently writes *for* and *against* all Men, the Gospel, and himself too, as the World goes: Who can bestow a Panegyrick upon the Seven Deadly Sins, and (if there be occasion,) can make an Invective against all the Commandments. Now, Sir, you must confess, That is a very hard Case indeed, which a Man of such a Breadth and Qualifications cannot speak plainly to, and does not know what to do with. And thus you have him delivering himself in this Point, (p. 91.) *In those great Steps of her later Years, that carried a Face which at first Appearance seemed liable to Censure; and that*

that were the single Instances of her whole Life, that might be thought capable of hard Constructions. You see, Sir, what a rare Faculty our Doctor hath at palliating and daubing: But you are not at all to wonder at this; for the most flagitious Crimes in the World, if our Author can find his Account in them, by a little turn of ungodly Rhetorick, shall be diminished into nothing but *Faces* and *Appearances*, and I cannot tell what. In the mean time he plainly destroys the Cause he designs to maintain; for it seems the matter is not so very clear, but it is encumber'd with criminal *Seemings* and *Appearances*. And what then, on God's Name, makes them talk over and over, and tell the World of the *manifest* Justice, and *apparent* Righteousness of their Cause, when, according to their own Account of it, it carries the *Face* and *Appearance* of Guilt? For, as I take it, *manifest* Righteousness, and *seeming* Unrighteousness, is a manifest Contradiction. And what makes them clamour so furiously against the *Jacobites*, for seeing the Revolution by such a Light which they own it hath the *Seeming* and *Appearance* of? Or for thinking of Things in such a manner which they themselves say they *may be thought capable of*? However, the Doctor would have done but honestly, if he had told us the Grounds of these *Faces* and *Appearances*, and what are the Reasons why this Action is liable to *Censure*, and capable of *hard Constructions*: And then the Reader would have judged, whether it was only *seeming* and *apparent*, or real and in truth. But he durst not trust his Reader with telling him, That these Reasons were drawn from the common Principles of *human Nature*, the constant *Tenor* and *Declaration* of Christianity, the particular Direction of the Fifth and of the Tenth Commandment. Now this is a little too much for any Man but the Doctor, to call the notorious and persevering Violation of all, and every one of these, mere *Faces*, and *Appearances*, and *seemingly Censurable*; and, I doubt, so long as the Sense of these remain in the World, it will not only be thought *capable of hard Constructions*, but incapable of any other. However the Doctor further tells us, (p. 93.) That she saw that not only her own Reputation might suffer by it, but that Religion too, might be concerned in those Reproaches that she was to look for. How can that be, Sir, according to the magnificent Character that you, and the rest of you, have given of it heretofore? For when you made it the Subject of your flattering *Sermons*, you used to extol it, as the greatest, most glorious, and pious Action, that ever was: And I hope such Actions as these have no bad Influence either upon Reputation, or Religion, but the clean contrary; so that if she herself

self had such a Sense of it, it is plain she did not believe you, but took her Sentiments from better Instructors, and from the Principles of that Religion she was Educated in. And this you confirm as much as you can, when you immediately add, *This was much more to her than all the Crowns could offer instead of it.* Now, Sir, I hope you do not intend to perfwade the World, That she valued the Opinion or Reproaches of the Jacobites more than the Crown; that therefore these Sentiments were raised not from particular and accidental Consideration, but from the Nature of the Thing, and the general Sense of Mankind about it. The Action, in its own Nature, was neither *Reputable* nor *Righteous*, and consequently would reflect both upon her Reputation and her Religion: For 'tis impossible for any Man to think, That doing a Thing *highly Reputable* will endanger Reputation, but advance it: That performing an Action of *heroick Virtue* and Piety will *reproach Religion*, but bring an Honour to it. So that at last the Doctor hath made a fair Commendation, and said much in justification of his Cause, by acquainting us that she her self had no very good Opinion of it, as seeing that both her own Reputation, and the Credit of Religion, might suffer by it. And this is yet further confirm'd, by the Representation he makes of her intolerable Grief and Agonies, *That she made a Sacrifice of her self in accepting that Elevation, which perhaps was harder for her to bear, than if she had been made a Sacrifice in the severest Sense;* that the Concealment of her Sorrow was more sensible and violent to her, than any Thing that could have been wished her, by the most enraged and virulent of all her Enemies. (p. 96.) Now as to the Truth of this I will not dispute with the Doctor; if any Man has a mind to believe it upon his bare Word, he may do as he please: But it was a hard Case, that all the *flattering Sermons* she frequently heard, and the daily Converse she had with such Men, could give her no ease. However (if this was the Case) it is sure no extraordinary proof of the wonderful Glory and Blessedness of the Cause: Men do not use to live under eternal Crucifixions and Mortifications for doing the best Actions in the World. I doubt the Path was not so plain and clear, but there were Rubs in the way, which could not fairly be got over; the *Duty to Parents*, and the *Injustice of taking what is none of our own*, are Points that will not easily be weather'd: And if (as the Doctor says) this mighty Sorrow arose from the *Duty* she bore to her *Father*, there was no other way in the World to relieve her, and give her true Quiet, but by shewing that either she was was wholly absolved from that *Duty*,

or

or that this Action was *consistent* with it. But neither of these could be done. And this is a Point that always hath, and always will lye upon their hands ; and they never spoke one Word to it, to give her solid Peace in the time of her Life, nor to clear her from the Imputation after her Death. But as then, so now, they are all for telling flattering and daubing Stories, and rambling from the true and direct Question, which they dare not touch with one of their Fingers : Just as the Doctor here, (p. 32.) *That the publick Good of Mankind, the Preservation of Religion, and those real Extremities to which Matters were driven, ought to supersede all other Considerations.* Yes, I suppose, to supersede the Fifth Commandment, and natural Duty, and common Justice. At this rate a Man may rob, and murther, or do any Thing to preserve Religion, if Matters are come to Extremity : For I would fain see a Reason, why the same Occasions would not supersede all the Commandments, as well as one of them ? The Doctor goes on, *She had generous Notions of the Liberty of human Nature, and the Ends of Government, which was designed to make Mankind happy and safe, and not to raise Power upon the Ruins of Property and Liberty ; nor could she think that Religion was to be delivered up to the Humours of misguided Princes.* Very good, Sir ; but are there no Notions in the World, besides the Notions of the Liberty of human Nature ? Sure the Notions of the Obligations and Restraints of human Nature are as considerable, and deinceive as much to be comply'd with ; and no Man can justify the vindicating the Liberty of human Nature to others, by destroying the Restraints of it that God hath laid upon our selves : And, as I take it, 'tis no very honest Method for a Man to set himself, or others free, by knocking his Father on the Head. Let the Ends of Government be what they will, the Ends of *Filial Piety*, and commutative Justice, are every way as Sacred, and ought not to be tore up by the Roots, to make another Person answer the Ends of Government. *Religion is not to be delivered up to the Humours of misguided Princes* ; nor to the Humours of any Man else, though he calls himself a Bishop ; nor can be, except Men please themselves : But for all that, I do not think the extetnal Preservation of Religion ought to be attempted by breaking the Commandments. However, at last he tells us, (p. 34.) *That being the only visible Mean left to preserve the Protestant Religion, she was therereby determin'd to it.* Well, if that were the only visible Mean, then it ought to have been left to God's Providence ; for that visible Mean was stark nought, and can never be justified, as being a visible Violation of that Religion it is pretended

pretended to preserve. For God never gave Authority, or Allowance, to Children to turn their Parents out of Doors, and seize their Inheritance to themselves.

Thus, Sir, you see what kind of Divinity we have from these Men; they are very copious and full of Tales, about *Ends and Purposes, publick Good and Preservations*, which is always the Guise of *Impostors*, to consecrate material Wickedness with holy Ends, which must commute and atone for all the Unrighteousness they have dipt their Hands in. They know well enough there are three Things that necessarily and essentially concur to the Goodness of every Action; that the *Matter* of it be *Just*, the *Means Lawful*, and the *End Right*; but 'tis the *last* only they bedeck with Titles and Epithets; but the other Two are left to shift for themselves, which notwithstanding are the only Things that come under Consideration: For *Ends and Purposes* are *Mysteries* and *Secrets*, and lodge in every Man's private Breast, and are frequently as various as the Men are that are engaged in the same outward Action. As in the Revolution, one Man's *End* might be to get a *Throne*, another's to gratify his *Revenge*, a third to feed his *Interest*, by patching up a crakt Fortune, or making a new one; a fourth to humour his *Loviness* and *Inconstancy*; and of some, perhaps, the Ambition of being *King-makers*: Now these are all personal, and every Man must answer for himself, and no Man can be party to another Man's Intentions; but the outward Action, and the Means of attaining and supporting, they are all more or less concerned, and responsible. And one wou'd think something should be said a little to clear and smooth this; and not leave it to the mercy of every *hard-hearted Jacobite* to worry them with at his Pleasure.

3. It is not the least observable, That these Gentlemen should with so much Care deprecate the Person they are celebrating, and fly in their own Faces. Common Discretion, one would think, should have taught them to let this Point alone, if they had no more to say for it, but what reflects upon her and themselves; especially since some of it is apparently False. What should make Dr. *Sherlock* talk of *Grief, and having no Desire*, and being *Thrust* into the *Throne*, when every Man in *England* who ever saw the Court can confute him, and the *Nature* of the Thing it self confutes him beyond Contradiction? For when a Prince hath broken through all the Sacred Bonds of Religion, Justice, and Humanity; when she has driven over the Head of the best of Fathers to get into a Throne; to talk of *Grief, and Aversion, and Compulsion* is the

the height of Paradox and Madness, and shews only what some Men will say to serve a Purpose : But what purpose was this to serve ? That is no hard Question to answer ; for you find this was one, if not a main Branch of their Instructions : For they all have it more or less, and I am told it was not forgot in most of the Sermons of that Day. And by this time you may see through the Mystery ; It was a seasonable Doctrine, and designed as a Document or Admonition to Princess Anne, or at least to the People concerning her : For, Sir, you know, That in the Judgment of Nine parts of the Kingdom, she hath a better Title to the Crown than another certain Person ; and we want not Instances in this Kingdom of Possession, and *de Facto*, giving Place to Right, by the Determination of an English Parliament, and the Concurrence of all the People. And therefore if you would understand these Gentlemen right, you must interpret them in this manner, — “ Madam, your Sister had great Grief when she took the Throne, and had no Will to it, and it was not very reputable neither ; and therefore it is far better for you to consult your own Credit and Ease, than to raise any Pretensions, which will only multiply your Sorrow, and withhold blast your Reputation. Besides, she was thrust into it to save a sinking Church and Kingdom ; and that matter is taken Care of already, and in the Hands of another, and therefore you can have no such Pretences. Furthermore, it is not impossible but your Brother may have a mind to Marry, and this might spoil his Fortunes ; and therefore most certainly twas Grief, Unwillingness, and Hazarding her good Name in the World. And who, that is not abandon'd to the utmost neglect of themselves, would (in such a Case) meddle with such sorrowful and hazardous Things ? And thus, Sir, you have the Mystery unfolded, and the Politick End of all this talk laid open. They could easily, if they had pleased, have celebrated this Action with the Epithets of Meritorious, Glorious, Godlike, and have put it into the same Dialect with the rest of her Praises ; (and I defy any Man to think that they were restrained by Religion or Conscience) but it was not so convenient at this Time : That might have proved a Temptation to others, who had as good and the very same Pretensions with her self ; and therefore it was fit to add a Dash of Discouragement, and mingle it at this Juncture with Sorrow, Violence, and Discredit. From whence you plainly see, what good Friends these Gentlemen are to the old English Monarchy. For most certainly the Hypothesis of abdication, with all its Branches, is now fallen.

fallen to the Ground ; for let *Desertion*, or what they will, be *Abdication* ; and let the Prince of Wales be what they please, the plain Consequence of this Hypothesis is, That by the Constitution of the English Monarchy , she ascended the Throne in her own Right, and her Husband governed in Right of her ; but then that Right is determined with her, and is now no more ; and by the undoubted Constitution of the English Government, that Right descends to the next Heir. And the single Question is no more but this ; Whether she sat upon the Throne of her Ancestors ? If she did, then her Husband is no more her Heir than King Philip was Heir to Queen Mary . If she did not, then the Constitution is broken to Pieces ; our old English Monarchy is utterly abolished and destroyed, and there is not the least Footstep of it remaining. But *Monarchy or no Monarchy, English or Dutch*, 'tis all one to them, they must follow their Instructions.

4. There is one Thing yet behind concerning this Action of *assuming the Throne*, which deserves your Observation : And that is, That these Gentlemen have not given us the last Sentiments that she her self had of it . Had there been a *Dear-b'ed Declaration*, we might have believed she had been in good Earnest, though as strangely and unaccountably Mistaken as ever Person was. And to be sure, had there been the least Tittle of this, we should have had it rung through the Kingdom, to fortify their Cause : But the industrious Concealment of every Thing that she said relating to this, is a Demonstration that she said nothing to their Advantage, but the contrary. Here was an Action that alarm'd the World, stain'd the Glory of her Life, and (if Dr. Sherlock and Dr. Burnet may be believ'd) was Grief and Sorrow to her self ; and 'tis next to impossible but she must say something of this, when she had a visible Prospect of her Death. A mere natural Conscience, without the Light of Religion, must needs both inform and awaken her ; and indeed there are broad Whispers as if she had said something that was not very grateful to them. If these Gentlemen knew nothing of it, their Ignorance will excuse them ; but if they did, 'tis horrid Hypocrisy to conceal it. It seems they were acquainted with the manner of her Dying ; Dr. Sherlock, (p. 24.) saith, She saw Death approaching without Fear, and prepared to receive the Stroke with Calmness, &c. which nothing could give but an innocent Conscience. And Dr. Wake, (p. 35.) That for the Clearness of her Conscience his Two Arguments are; *The Ease* of her own Mind in her Life time, and her appearing unconcerned at the prospect of her Death, which (faith he)

gave

gave a final Evidence that she accounted her self prepared for it: So that here is no Fact but Reasoning, and Conclusions drawn from Premisses; and 'tis extreamly ridiculous to run to Inferences and Collections, if they could have proved it by plain Words from her own Mouth. 'Tis therefore undeniable, either that she said nothing at all, which is one of the strangest Things in the World, or that which she did say, is directly against them; and the great Care to suppress it, is as great an Evidence of it, as such a Thing is capable of. And here we have the Difference between the two Causes in the trying Article of Death: On the one Side, We have Two Venerable and Reverend Bishops, besides several others, who have given the highest Evidence of their intire Satisfaction in their Principles and Practices, by venturing their Souls in the same bottom with them, and with their last Breath declaring it in the most Solemp Manner, and in the plainest Words. On the other Side, There is first one of their greatest Bishops dying without the least mention of the Cause, although he himself had as great a Share in it, as half a Score of some others. And then the Death-bed of the Principal her self, carries evident Suspitions of the clean contrary. And the Conclusion from these Premisses, and the Application and Improvement of this Point is this; *Let my Soul dwell with those Principles, whioh though they may create me Trouble and Affliction while I Live, yet I shall not be ashamed of them when I come to Die.*

II. The next Thing is, The Account and Reason he gives of Providence, with respect to her Death. And of this he tells us, (p. 23,24.) That enough we do not know the particular Reasons, yet there are general Answers which may satisfy: And his Answers are Two. One with respect to our selves; *That God is Angry, and by the untimely Death of an Excellent Princess threatens his Judgments, unless we Repent.* The other is with respect to her; and then the Answer is, *'Tis no Loss to change an Earthly Crown for an Heavenly Crown.* These are Reasons I shall neither dispute nor meddle with; but there is another, and a very particular one too, which the Doctor might have seen, if he had pleased, and which certainly would never have escaped him on any other Occasion. The Quetlion (as he puts it himself) is concerning her sudden and untimely Death, and being cut off in the Vigor and Strength of Age. And has the Doctor never heard of *Rebellious and Disobedient Children* not living out half their Days? I shall not undertake to give any Reasons for this, or any other Providence, which Providence it self does not plainly and manifestly direct to: That is enough for the Doctor to do, who hath made

more bold with Providence than ever Man did. But when there is a *Commandment*, to which a Promise of *long Life* is particularly and expressly annexed, which plainly implies a *Tbreathing* of a *short Life* upon the *Violation* of it : And when the Fact is Notorious and Manifest, and a visible Providence following it, punctually, and in all Points answering the Divine Threatnings ; I am certain a Man may with more Safety and Modesty assign that as a Reason, which God himself in particular threatens to that particular Fact. This is not entring into God's Secrets, but following the Conduct of his Commandments ; and interpreting his Providences, according to those Declarations which God himself hath made in that very Case. And I do not at all doubt to say, That here was as great and open a Breach of the **FIFTH COMMANDMENT** as ever was in the World, aggravated by many and heinous Circumstances ; as unnatural Ingratitude, triumphing and perlevering in it for a long time : And all the Commendations these Gentlemen give of her great Knowledge, Virtue, and Piety, are but as so many more Aggravations ; as thereby acting against a clearer Light, and bringing a greater Dishonour and Scandal upon the Christian Religion and Profession. However, this is the very Case to which God threatens shortness of Life ; and here we have the Matter of that Threatning plainly exemplified in the untimely Death of this Princeſſ: But whether or no, in this severe Providence, her undutifulness to her Parents hath overtaken her, or whether God hath cut her off in the midst of her Days for this, or for any other wise and just Reaſon ; I am very certain that from hence there are two Things of practical Observation, and which (with these Gentlemen's good leave) deserve to be inculcated to the People on this solemn Occasion, and as useful at least as any Thing they have said in their Sermons.

The one is, That from hence Children be admonished to be more *dutiful to their Parents*, left their Lives also are shortened, and they for their Disobedience cut off from the Earth in the Flower of their Age. These Gentlemen indeed have taken the contrary Method, and (as far as in them lies) have tore up by the Roots all Filial Piety : For if a Person, living in the constant and plain Violation of this Duty, may notwithstanding be magnified to the utmost stretch of Mens Wits and Understandings, may be recommended from the Pulpit as a great Exemplar of all Virtue, Perfection, and Excellence ; and preached up into Heaven by a whole Sett of Divines, without the least guard on this Head, or any manner

manner of direction concerning it ; I doubt rebellious Children will infer for themselves, and think they may merit abundance of Praise too, and go to Heaven at last, although they allow themselves in a visible and standing Breach of a plain and necessary Duty. For if unnatural Disobedience be no Impeachment to one Man's Virtue, neither is it to another's ; and God hath not given the Fifth Commandment to common People only, and left Princes to their own Liberty in the matter. And, in good truth, these Gentlemen have been such faithful Stewards, as to do their best to pray and preach all natural Duty out of the World. And therefore

The second is, To Caution all Men from hence to be very careful how they join with, encourage, support or command (directly or by consequence) any Disobedience to Parents ; lest the Fate of rebellious Children be derived to them, and they also shorten their own Days, and bring themselves to an untimely End. For 'tis a rul'd Case, whosoever is Accessary to the Guilt, is Accessory to the Punishment too. One Man's personal Vices become another Man's by his Consent and Approbation, and much more by his Applauding and Encouraging them. How large and wide therefore this Crime of Filial Disobedience reaches, I shall not need to determine ; so far as this Consent extends to particular Persons, the Guilt is Personal ; and so far as it is National, the Guilt also is National ; and the Threatning and Judgment is also as large, and as extensive, as the Guilt. And there is a Shortning the Days of a Nation, as well as of particular Persons, by cutting them off from being no more a People, or by divesting them of their Ancient Government, Constitution, Privileges, Laws and Franchises ; which is in truth making them another Nation than they were before, and of another Polity. I pray God divert his Judgments both from particular Persons, and from the whole Nation, and give all Men Wisdom to take early Warning by *particular Examples* ; that by a timely Repentance they may prevent the Execution of those Threatnings which apparently hang over our Heads, and are the declar'd Consequences and Effects of our present Actions. For there is nothing more plain than that this Nation hath notoriously violated the *Fifth Commandment*, upon all Accounts upon which it can be violated ; both in an unjust Rebellion against the *Civil Parent*, and withal at the same time abetting and supporting an unparalleled Disobedience against the *Natural Parent*.

But to return to Providence ; There are some Circumstances yet to be observ'd, particularly as to Time, and especially if we shall follow

follow these Gentlemen in their Method of reading and interpreting of Providence; and how much such Observations will come home to them, you may see by this one Instance

**Thanksgiving Sermon, 1688. p. 30.* of Dr. Tillotson, "Our wonderful Deliverance (says he) from the formidable Spanish Invasion designed against us, happen'd in the Year 1588. And now just

a hundred Years after, the very same Year, and at the same Season of the Year, this last great Deliverance came to us. That horrid Gun-powder Conspiracy, without President, and without Parallel, was designed to have been executed upon the Fifth Day of November, the same Day upon which his Highness the Prince of Orange Landed the Forces here in England, which he brought hither for our rescue. And the very same you may find in Dr. Burnet, and others, mentioning it with mighty Triumph, as a Divine Seal and Testimony to their Cause. Now, Sir, if you please turn your Eyes to the Case before us, and you will find, That the Prince's sickned, was invaded by a mortal Distemper, and struggled with the Grief and Pangs of it, in the same Month, Days and Moments, in the which her Father, but Six Years before, laboured under the Agonies of an unnatural Invasion and Rebellion. That she died the same Month, almost the same Day of the Month, but the very same Hour of the Day, on which her Father was forced into Exile, (for he withdrew himself from Rochester about One in the Morning.) And to this you may add, That the exposing her Corps to publick View, and lying in State, happens to be in the same Month of February, in which she and her Husband were proclaimed in publick King and Queen: And to compleat the Parallel, One great Reason, if not the only Reason of the delay to this Month was, for that the Purple (the Royal Colours) to adorn the Solemity was expected from Holland. And I doubt not but a critical and curious Observer will find, That every remarkable Moment in her Sicknes, Death, Funeral Pomp, and Funeral it self, will answer to so many several Steps made in the Revolution. How far such Things as these are Argumentative, either from the Nature of Things, the Observations of Men, or the ordinary Methods of Divine Providences, I shall not now enquire: Only I am certain, This is *Argumentum ad Hominem*; and these Gentlemen who have used it themselves, and with such great Assurance too, can never Except against it. For if Years, and Seasons of the Year, and such like, are Things so observable, as from thence to point out a Determination of the Divine Will, or to signify God's Approbation or Dislike, here we have them all, even to Months and

and *Horr*, with an Accumulation of Circumstances ; and their own Arguments turn upon them with this great Advantage, That for Days in which Men are to perform any remarkable Actions, they are frequently in their own Choice, and *Fatalists* (who are Superstitious Observers of Times and Seasons) will be sure to pitch upon such Days as they think, or have observ'd to be fortunate to them : But *Death* is out of our Choice and Power, 'tis the peculiar Stroke of God himself. *Cromwel* gain'd two famous and fortunate Victories on the 3d of Sept. but he died on that Day too, and all his Hopes were blasted, and an End put to his *Usurpation*; which not only eternally confutes all the bold and blasphemous Arguments drawn for him from Providence and Success, but turn'd the Edge of them directly upon themselves.

III. The last Thing I shall observe to you, is, The Excursion the Doctor makes in Memory of an old *Friend* of his (p. 16. & seq.) This old *Friend* you must know is Dr. *Tillotson*, between whom and the Doctor, it seems, were very great Endearments; although after the Revolution there might be for some time a Misunderstanding, which the Doctor out of his Generosity can forget (and if other People would forget it too, it would never be the worse for him:) But even at the same time the distance was not so wide as some People thought; for there was another *Friend* of his, and who was *Friend* to them both, who all along kept up the Amity and Correspondence; and you know the Maxim, *Quae convenienter in aliquo tercio, convenienter inter se*: So that it might be old *Friendship* still, notwithstanding the outward seeming and appearance to the contrary. Well, Friendship or no Friendship, Old or New, the Doctor however hath abundance of fine Words to say, and they are but Words; for there is no Truth, nor colour of Truth in the bottom, but that I suppose may be excused, if there is a Friend in the Case.

In the first Place the Doctor tells us, *He had great Designs to serve the Christian Religion, and the Church of England in its truest Interest*. And again, *The great use he made of the Favour and Interest that he had, was to do publick Service to Religion, and whatever some Men might suspect, to the Church of England*. Well, then, it seems this Matter was not so clear, but there were some *Suspicions* as to his Designs on this Head: And the single Question is, Whether these *Suspicions* were just and reasonable? As for that, the Doctor leaves People to think as they please, and hath not said one Word to discharge them, but plainly confirms them: For he adds immediately, *though it may not be perfectly in their way*. Now the *Church of England*, as it sustains that de-

nomination, stands distinguished from Dissenters of all Sorts by her *Canons, Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy*; and the old Way of pursuing the *Churches Interest* was by being true to these our selves, and by using our Power and Authority that others might be so too. And this is the way that hitherto hath been taken, by all those who have heartily and honestly espoused the Interest of the Church, from the beginning of the Reformation. But this was a Way that did not please the Doctor's Friend; but he was for a new Way of his own; and though the Doctor does not tell us what Way that was, it was sufficiently known, It was a Way of Alteration and Comprehension, and he made a Commissioner for that Purpose, and would fain have been Prolocutor of the Convocation to have brought it to effect. And this was that great Design he was always pursuing with all his Might and Cunning; that is, He was endeavouring to alter and comprehend away the Church, who being himself first false to her Principles and Constitution, was designing to frame a Church of the same Model, and make it as false as himself. In short, he was for making a Dutch Church of an English one, which is a very fine way indeed of having Designs to serve the Church of England in its truest Interests. I doubt not but Mr. Baxter, and another of the Doctor's old Friends, Dr. J. O. had also great Designs to serve the Church of England, though not perfectly in their Ways; that is, in a Way to let themselves and their Schism into the Church, which is Dr. Tillotson's Way. So that had the Doctor said, That his old Friend had great Designs for the Interest of the Dissenters, he had spoke truth; and I dare say he will yet say it, if ever Things be ripe enough to open thus boldly. But to talk of his Designs for the truest Interests of the Church of England, 'tis the extravagantest Thing in the World: For there is nothing more ridiculous, than to call those Designs for the Church of England, which were designed purely to undermine it; to throw up the Inclosure and make it Common, to take away those Things upon the Account of which it hath its denomination, and is distinguished from all others, and particularly the Doctor's Friends the Dissenters. But I had rather you should have this in Dr. Sbeck's own Words, and you shall see what he hath said and printed of this very Man, and in this very Case: And in the first Place he enquires whether there is any Necessity of such Alterations, and says, "The Members of the Church of England generally believe there is none. And then asks, Whether it be for the Reputation and Establishment of the Church, or for the Increase of Reverence and Devotion in the People, to be so frequently

* A Letter concerning some Querys about the new Commission for the making Alterations in the Liturgy, Canons, &c.

terations, and says, "The Members of the Church of England generally believe there is none. And then asks, Whether it be for the Reputation and Establishment of the Church, or for the Increase of Reverence and Devotion in the People, to be so frequently

frequently meditating unnecessary Alterations? Again he asks, Whether it be for the Peace, Unity, and Edification of the Church, for some few assuming Men to alter the establish'd Worship, to make it comply with their own private Conc'rts, or to serve their own private Ends? Whether it be for the Churches Advantage to change the ancient Rules and Forms of Worship, for some new modern Inventions? How shall we justify our selves against the Charge of Novelty and Innovation, if we reform away all the Remains and Characters of a Primitive and Apostolick Church? Here you have Dr. Sherlock's Notions of the Design; and there is much more to the same Purpose. And now you shall have his Opinion of the Man in the pursuit of this Design; Whether the known Character of some leading Men in this Commission be not Reason enough to suspect the Event? Whether Men who conform'd with difficulty themselves, or upon Principles which wise Men foresaw would destroy the Church in time, who have Latitude to conform to a Church de Facto, which hath Power on its Side, and to conceal their own Inclinations till it is time to shew them, are not likely to do the Church of England a good Turn when opportunity serves, and which perhaps they imagine now they have? Again, Whether there was any such base of altering the best constituted Church in the World, which honourable Title some of these Commissioners, in a good Mood, have in their Writings bestowed upon the Church of England? Meaning his old Friend Dr. Tillorson. Once again, And thus our Church may be changed, and altered, and transformed by Nine Men, who may have Tenderness and Moderation enough to part with any Thing but their Church's Preferments. Now, Sir, you will confess that the Doctor treats his Friend, especially an old Friend, a little coarsely and unfriendly. And I doubt very much whether the Doctor in those days would have given him his Vote for the Archbischoprick, or yet for the following Characters, of the clearest and brightest Reason, truest, Judgment, more inflexible fearless Honesty; for these are directly contrary to the Characters he gives of him here. But the Doctor I suppose is grown Wiser now, and which you know no Man is forbid. Nay, he is grown wiser than the wise Men themselves; for you have heard, That wise Men foresaw such Principles would destroy the Church in time. But the Doctor now is so wise as to see plainly, That those Principles are for the Churches trust Interest. Now, Sir, whatever you may think of the Cause, I pray now tell me what you think of the Preacher? Are not these delicate Things from the Mouth of Dr. Sherlock, who hath in so many Words asserted the clean contrary of the same Design, and of the same Man engag'd in that Design? Had the Doctor nothing to say for his old Friend, but by spitting in his own Face, and shewing himself to the World for a rank Apo-state, in contradicting almost every Thing that ever he said in his whole

whole Life; in the mean time he may say and preach what he please of this, or of any other Person, but he hath taken extraordiny Care that no Body should believe him: For if Dr. Tillotson's Character is to be taken upon the Credit of Dr. Sherlock, then you must believe both or none; for the *Querries* and the *Sermon* have the same Author, and the same Authority too: However at last it was Friendly done, to sacrifice his own Reputation to the Memory of his Friend. For by contradicting the hard and foul Characters he has given of Dr. Tillotson, he hath taken off the Credit of them, so far as they relate to him, and no Man is bound to believe them because Dr. Sherlock said them; but his Friend's Memory will get but little by the Bargain, for this taints all his good Characters too, and for the same Reason no Body is bound to believe them. Here we have of the same Person, upon the the same Occasion, and by the self-same Man, these very agreeing Characters, That he had, and he had not, good Inclinations to the Church of England; That his Designs were, and they were not, for the Reputation of that Church; That whatever some might suspect, he did, and he did not, purpose to serve her in her truest Interest; That he was, and was not, a Time-server; Did, and did not, conceal his *Inclinations* to do the Church a good Turn, &c. And the present Age and Posterity is left to believe which they please, either or neither; for what Dr. Sherlock says on one Side, the same Dr. Sherlock confutes on the other. So that whether the Doctor hath consulted his Friend's Reputation, it is plain he forgot his own: For such changeable and double dealing in matters of such Moment hath been always infamous; to say no worse. And the Doctor stands upon Record, both as to Persons, Things, and Causes, the greatest Instance of *Self-contradiction*, that this, or perhaps any other Age hath bred.

I shall not trouble you with a large Reflexion on his other Characters, for a very few Words will serve the turn, and the very naming them is sufficient to expose them. In the next Place he tells you, *The greatest Fault I know he had, was, That some Envious and Ambitious Men could not bear his Greatness, which he himself never Courted, nor, which he indifferently avoided.* This you must take for a Commendation of his singular Modesty, join'd with an Aversion of Envy upon some others; and I doubt neither of them very much: For whether he carried his Greatness or no, a very little Industry would have forced to avoid it. And any Man who knows the Methods used for the gaining Possession of Lambeth, will be soon satisfied, That though there was very little Courtship, there was a great deal of Industry employed: And it is very pleasant to talk of such a Man indifferently avoiding, when he was not only an Intruder, but violently thrust himself into another's Right,

Right, by litigious Suits, and false Claims, and under the pretended Power of Law. And then for his Greatness, it carried its Antidote with it, and there was enough to choke any Man's Appetite, whose Ambition did not exceed his Probity: For he was both an *Usurper's* and an *usurping* Bishop. And these are no such tempting Titles and Acquisitions, as to move the Envy of any, but such as Dr. *Sherlock*. And I doubt I cannot so safely apply the remaining part of the Character to the Doctor, as I did some before, (*viz.*) *That he never Courted, but industriously Avoided* his Preferments. And then it will follow, That those who *industriously Court* Preferments, are the *ambitious* Men who *envied* his Greatness. And by this *Mark* the Doctor, if he pleases, may distinguish them, and point them out; for I dare say, There is never a *true Son of the Church of England*, who *envied* his Greatness, but despis'd it; and whomsoever he would insinuate by this godly Character, 'tis as plain as the Sun, That it suits with no Body but themselves:

The next Thing is very fine and Artificial; *Had it been put to the Poll* there would have been vast Odds on his Side, that he would have been voted into the See of Canterbury. You see the Doctor's Rhetorick runs very low, when he is forc'd to take up with such Childish Topicks. 'Tis an admirable Vertue indeed that must receive its Lustre from the *Poll*; and the Doctor hath given us a curious Rule by which to measure worth, (*viz.*) *The Mob and most Voices*. In the mean time this Assertion is as bold as 'tis ridiculous: The Doctor would be thought a wise Man, as if he had felt the Pulse of the whole Kingdom, and knew well the Inclinations of all the People; for he tells us, *All England knew his worth*: Whereas this plainly betrays him, and shews, That though he talks large and wide, and like a Traveller, yet that in truth he was bred at home, and knows very little beyond his own Doors. For above one half of the People scarcely so much as heard of his Name, and four parts of six hardly knew whether he had any Worth or no; whether he was good for something, or for nothing: And of those who did know him, a great many knew him a little too well to give their Vote for him. And of this we have a very plain and full Instance; when he stood to be *Prolocutor* of the Convocation, there was as undecent and uncanonical Struggling to make a Party for him, as perhaps ever was known in *England*; and yet neither his *own worth* (so great and so known as the Doctor says) nor the Interest and Canvassing of Dr. *Torr*~ and all the *Latitudinarian* Tribe with all the *Wit*, *Cunning*, *Vigilance* and *Artifice*, were able to carry it; but all the Odds was against him, and that considerably. So that, I doubt, the Doctor is a little out, as to his Judgment about the *Poll*. In the mean time, it is very pleasant to talk of *Voting* an Archbishop into the See of Canterbury; as if the *Mob*, and vulgar Multitude (by far the most numerous of any Nation) were the fittest Judges of Episcopal Qualifications: And see what a wise Reason

Reason he gives for this, *For no Man had ever a clearer and brighter Reason, a truer Judgment, a more easy and happy Expression, nor a more inflexible fearless Honesty.* Now that Particle, *For*, denotes the Reason why the vast Odds in Polling would have been on his Side ; and therefore you must needs be convinc'd that he would certainly have carried it, because the common People are the best Judges in the World of clear and bright Reason, true Judgment, happy Expression, and fearless Honesty. He had better by half have mention'd his Corpulency and Fatness, or his Hospitality (if he cou'd have told how) or any Thing else for a Reason, and the People would have voted him into Canterbury, because he was Plump, and Well-liking, and Fatter than other People, and then the Reason would have suited the Subject ; for they are a thousand times better Judges of this, than of Reason, Judgment, or Expressions. But now the Reason is more ridiculous than the Assertion. 'Tis extream Folly to distinguish a Man's Virtue by the Odds of Polling, and Voting; but it is ten times more so, to give that as a Reason, which not one in a thousand of the Voters understand any Thing of. In the mean time, if this be the only Reason (and the Doctor assigns this and no other) why he thinks he would have been voted into the Metropolitical See, I hope those who understand what is clear Reason, and true Judgment, will be allowed the fittest Judges, and most competent Electors ; and then I doubt instead of being voted in, he would have been voted out. For in the Instance before, a Convocation of learned Divines, who well understood these Qualities, and were very able to Judge of them, voted directly against him : So that if these clear, bright, and happy Things of Reason, Judgment, and Expression, are to be measured by Vote, the Doctor hath plainly lost his Cause ; for in such Cases the Vote of learned Men, and of the same Profession, is far more considerable than that of the People, if there had been any such Thing. But the Doctor's Votes, are Votes in Dream and Fancy, and he celebrates his Fiend's Memory by Chimera's, and nothing; and not only so, but in plain Opposition to Things really in being : And I hope one actual Vote preponderates, and is of more worth than ten thousand of the Doctor's imaginary ones.

Next to his clear and bright Reason, &c. the Doctor celebrates his willingness to forgive, in these Words, *He could easily forgive an Enemy, as that Bundle of Livels witnesseth which was found among his other Papers, with this Inscription ; These are Libels, I pray God forgive them, I do.* Now as to this Character, I do not know whether the Doctor would venture it to the Poll as he does his Reason and Judgment ; but if he would, I doubt there are some Living who could honestly Vote the contrary: And particularly the Christ-church Men, whom he always esteem'd and treated as Enemies to the day of his Death, for no other Reason, than ever I could hear, or I believe the Doctor can tell, but that some of that College acted accor-

according to the best of their Judgment, and preferr'd before him a more fit Person of their own Body to be Prolocutor of the Convocation. In the mean time this is too great a Virtue to be huddled up in Generals, and left to the single Testimony of a Posthumous Inscription upon some obscure Papers. Does the Doctor know any one Instance of a Person who bore him ill Will, or actually provoked him, or highly disengaged him, whom notwithstanding he repaid with favour and kindness, and *heav'd Coals of Fire upon his Head*. The Doctor tell us, he was his Friend, and consequently must be acquainted with some of the *secret*, as well as the *open* Passages of his Life, and if he had known any Thing of this, to be sure we should have heard of it; but to talk so magnificently of his *easiness of forgiving Enemies*, and have nothing at all to say for it, but the Superscription of a blind Bundle, which no Body knows the Contents of, is a gross imposition on his Hearers: However as to *Libels*, I must confess there was a severe *Libel* writ against him, the Title of which is, *A Letter to the Lord Russel*, the Author Dr. *Tillotson*, and this indeed *Libels* and reproaches him, far beyond what his most malicious Enemies were ever able to do. And these Gentlemen had need talk of *Libels*, when they have taken such extraordinary Pains to *Libel* themselves. Dr. Patrick's *Paraphrases* are a notorious *Libel* against him; and Dr. *Stillingfleet's Preface to the Jesuits Loyalty* is a terrible *Libel* against him; and Dr. *Sherlock's Case of Resistance*, and all his *Books* and *Sermons* before the *Oath*, are venomous and inveterate *Libels* against him, and against all that he hath preached and written since. These are *Libels*, and perpetual *Libels*, and will remain everlasting Monuments of their Infamy, except they can perswade the People to burn all their *Books*, and forget all their *Sermons*. So that (to give these Gentlemen their due) they have sav'd their Adversaries all the trouble in this Point, and (whatever they may think on't) they have something else to do, than to beat so common and tire an Argument, to trouble the World with any more *Libels* upon them, when they find so many already made to their hands by the Gentlemen themselves.

And thus, Sir, I have made an End of the Task which you have imposed on me; I shall take my leave of you with this Advice from the whole, That if you purpose when you are called from the World to have the Solemnity of your Interment graced with a *Funeral Sermon*, that you will give direction that the *Preacher* be a Man of *Probity and Principles*; for otherwise no Man will believe your Virtues upon the Credit of your *Obituary*, and your Memory may be blasted instead of being recommended: For let him say never so many good Things of you, it is not impossible but before the Year comes about, he may *recant* and *renounce* every Word of it.

Before I conclude, I think my self oblig'd (in this second Letter) to account to you for declining Compliance with your new Request, of *re-marking*

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marking on Dr. Payn's Sermon on the same Subject. Your Intimation made me undertake the Penance of reading some of it; but to go through it, is too great a Discipline for any Man, whose Palate hath ever relish'd any Thing above *three half Penny Poetry*. Why, Sir, many Years ago I have heard some of it sung about the Streets in wretched and naulcous Doggerel. What do you think of this? p. 6. *I know not how to draw her Picture,* 'tis so all over Beauteous without any Foul, any Shade, any Blemish; so perfect in every Feature, so accomplish'd in every Part, so adorn'd with every Perfection and every Grace. O Rare, Sir! Here's *Phillis and Chloris*, and *Jillian a Croyden*.

Sh' hath every Feature, every Grace;

So charming every Part &c.

"Tis no wonder he tells us, (p. 8.) of *strewing her with the Flowers of withered and decayed Poetry*; for the *Song* out of which he hath transcribed his Sermon is of very great Age, and hath been sung at many a *Whitsun Ale*, and many a *Wedding*, (though I believe never at a *Funeral* before) and therefore in all this time may very well be *decay'd and wither'd*: In the mean time, if you, Sir, were to draw the *Piture* of a great *Prince*, I fancy you would not make choice of *Mopsa* to fit for it. Alas! Sir, there was *Cassandra*, and *Cleopatra*, and many a fam'd *Romance* more, which might have furnish'd him with handson *Characters*, and yet he must needs be *preaching and instructing* his People out of *Hey down derry*, and the fair *Maid of Kent*. If he had intitl'd it, *the White Chappel Ballad*, and got some Body to set it to the *Tune of Amarillis*, composed by *W.P. Songster*, the *Character of the Author*, the *Title*, and the *Matter*, would have very well agreed, and perhaps it might have passed at the *Corners of Streets*; but to call it a *Sermon*, and by *W.P. Doctor in Divinity*, 'tis one of the *lewdest Things* in the *World*. It may be reckon'd among the Misfortunes of this *Prince's*, that *her Memory* is celebrated in the *Language of the Stew*; her Fame told in the *Words and Dialect* wherewith the *Bawds* serenade their *Misses*. And the *Place* from whence it comes will never mend it; for though the *Pulpit* of late Years hath done Wonders, and made the same Things *Right and Wrong, True and False*; yet I think it will hardly undertake to elevate *Crudities* among the *Muses*, to translate a *loose unsavory, and slovenly Ballad* into *Hymns and decent Praises*. However, if they think such Things suitable to the *Gravity* of their *Character*, they may enjoy their *Humour* for me: I think it much below mine, to bewear my self in taking notice of it. And (I pray pardon my Resentment) I am sorry you think your poor Friend hath nothing else to do, than to make *Remarks* on *Fa la la*, and *Lily Bally*; let it be *preach'd where it will*, and call'd by what Name they please. I am, Sir, yours, &c.